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A

VOYAGE TO *ENGLAND*,

Containing many Things relating to the

State of Learning, RELIGION,

And other Curiosities of that

KINGDOM.

By Mons. *SORBIERE.*

AS ALSO

Observations on the same Voyage, by Dr. *Thomas Sprat*, Fellow of the Royal Society, and now Lord Bishop of *Rochester.*

WITH

A Letter of Monsieur *Sorbiere's*, concerning the War between *England* and *Holland* in 1652: To all which is prefix'd his Life, writ by M. *Graverol.*

Done into *English* from the *French* Original.

LONDON.
Printed, and Sold by *J. Woodward*, in St. *Christopher's-Alley* in *Threadneedle-Street.* 1709.

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THE PREFACE.

MOnſieur Sorbiere's *Voyage into* England *having of late Years been mentioned on divers Occaſions, it was thought proper to oblige the Publick with a Genuine Verſion of that Piece, and to include the very Preface and Dedication, by reaſon of the Animadverſions made even upon that Part, as well as the reſt of the Work: And ſeeing the Obſervations made on this Voyage of* Sorbiere's, *by that Excellent Perſon, Dr.* Thomas Sprat, *now Lord Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *have been for ſome time out of Print, it cannot be judged amiſs they ſhould be Publiſhed, thus together, that ſo the Reader may be enabled to make a better Judgment of them. The Learned Animadverter has not confined himſelf to a regular Examination of this Voyage, Page after Page, but joined ſuch Parts and Pieces of it together as they beſt ſuited and occurred to him; and therefore the Pages in the Margin have with Care and Pains been altered, and made anſwerable to the* Engliſh *Verſion, wherein the Tranſlator has been very intent upon doing all imaginable Juſtice to the Author, which is the true Reaſon why in a Place or Two the Learned Animadverter and his Interpretation do not exactly quadrate.* Sorbiere's *Letter to Monſ.* de Courcelles, *about the War which broke out between* England *and* Holland *in* 1652, *being Printed in a Book of his, Entituled,* Letters

Letters and Diſcourſes concerning divers Curious Matters, *there is ſomething ſo very ſingular in it concerning the immenſe Project of the* Engliſh *Republick at that time to Uſurp the Dominion of the Ocean, and Trade of the World, that 'twas thought worth while to Inſert it here.*

The Memoirs of his Life, which we have prefixed to the reſt of theſe Pieces, were writ by Monſ. Graverol, *a Learned Advocate at* Nimes, *and Addreſt by Way of Letter to* Lewis de Rechignevoiſin de Guron, *Biſhop of* Comenge: *His Method is engaging enough; and as he proceeds, he does more particularly give us an Hiſtorical Deduction of* Sorbiere's *Works, and the ſeveral Occaſions of Publiſhing them; neither does the Bonds of Friendſhip that had been between them hinder him to uſe the Freedom and Sincerity of a Faithful Biographer: Theſe Memoirs were Printed in* French, *in a Book called* Sorberiana, *the Remains of our Author, Publiſhed by M.* Colomyez, *and Dedicated to the Famous M.* Peliſſon, *Privy Councellor and Maſter of Requeſts to the* French *King.*

We are not to forget, before we conclude, to Advertiſe the Reader, that there have been Two or Three Bantering Treatiſes, Publiſhed ſome Years ago in Engliſh, *which bore the Title of* Sorbiere's Voyage, *but are not really ſo, this being the firſt Tranſlation of that Piece that ever yet was Extant in our Language.*

ME-

MEMOIRS
FOR THE
LIFE
OF
M. *Samuel Sorbiere*,
BY

Way of LETTER from Mr. *Graverol*, Advocate at *Nimes*, to M. *Lewis de Rechignevoiſin de Guron*, Biſhop of *Comenge*.

My Lord,

SINCE you are Deſirous to know ſome Particulars concerning the Life and Writings of the late Monſ. *Sorbiere*, I am to acquaint you he was Born in the

the beginning of the last Century, of Protestant Parents, and an Honest Family, in the Town of St. *Ambroix*, in the Diocess of *Uzes*. I was informed several Years ago, by the only Son he left behind him, who is Married at *Gravieres*, a Sorry Place, in the same Diocess, that he was Born on the 17th of *September*, 1615, and yet, according to the Inscription about his Picture, which was Engraven after his Death, and Copied after that of the Celebrated *Audran*, done at *Rome*, in 1667, he must have been Born Five Years before: His Father, *Stephen Sorbiere*, was a Burgher, and *Lovisa Petit*, his Mother, was the Sister of *Samuel Petit*, a Famous Minister in *Nismes*, whose Name is very well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, upon the Account of the several Things he has Published, as well as by his Observations upon *Josephus*, which Manuscript is at this Time in the *Oxford* Library, the same having been Sold by my Means to the late Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and Grandfather, by the Mother Side, to the Princess of *Orange*, during the Time of his Sojourning in the City of *Montpelier*, whither he had retired for Reasons, to which you are no no Stranger.

His Father and Mother Dying while *Sorbiere* was very Young, Monf. *Petit*, who was his Godfather as well as his Uncle, took him

him Home, and was as careful of his Education as if he had been his own Child: When under his Eye he had gone through the first General Rudiments of Learning, he went in 1639 to *Paris*, where having entertained an Aversion for the Study of Divinity, he applied himself to that of Physick, and made such a considerable Progress in that Science, that in a short time he drew up a Concise System of it for his own Use; which was Printed on a large Sheet of Paper, by the Title of, *A System of Galenick Physick, to help the Memory.*

He Travelled into *Holland* in 1642, where he Printed a Letter under the borrowed Name of *Guthbertus Higlandus*, and Inscribed it to *Andrew Rivet*, against the *Crurifragium Prodromi Rivetiani*, which had been Published by Monsr. *de la Mlletiere.* The Letter is to be seen at the End of the Apology of *Rivet* against *Grotius. Sorbiere*, during his Stay in *Holland*, help'd to Translate *Cambden*'s *Britannia*, which was to be put into one of the Tomes of the great *Atlas*, and which one *Salabert*, a Priest, who had begun it, was not able to go through with, because of his being obliged to return into *France.* It was not long after that he also Translated Sir *Thomas Moor*'s *Utopia* into *French*, at the Request of the *Rhinegrave*, who was then Governour of *Sluice*, and could not otherwise read

to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, *A Diſcourſe concerning his Converſion*, which he Dedicated to Cardinal *Mazarine*: The Clergy hereupon having granted him a Penſion of Four Hundred Livres, he forthwith took the Habit upon him, with the Expectation of a good Benefice from the Cardinal; who obliged him, whilſt he waited for it, with a Penſion of Three Hundred Livres.

He went from *Paris* to *Rome*, where he came quickly to be known to Pope *Alexander* VII, by a Letter he wrote to him in *Latin*, by Way of Invective againſt the Proteſtants, who hated him for his Perverſion: After his Return from *Rome* to *Paris* he cauſed another Letter in *Latin* to be Printed againſt Monſ. *Riolan*, about the *venæ lacteæ*, that had been diſcovered by *Gaſpar Aſellius*, of *Cremona*, and a Famous Anatomiſt at *Pavia*, as if there were a Fourth Sort of Meſaraick Veſſels. This Letter you have in a Book, Entituled, *The Anatomical Obſervations of Monſ.* Pecquet, to whom it was Writ: This I do affirm, upon the Reputation of thoſe who have aſſured me, that *Sorbiere* was the very *Sebaſtianus Aletophilus*, under which Name this Letter was Publiſhed, as well as that in 1657, which was Two or Three Years after addreſt

dreſt *ad Lignerium de vitanda in ſcribendo acerbitate.*

It looks as if the Preface to the Life of *Gaſſendus*, which is to be met with before the Works of that Eminent Philoſopher, and Printed at *Lyons* in Six Volumes in Folio, were alſo of *Sorbiere*'s Writing: He was the Author in like Manner of another to the *Syntagma Philoſophiæ Epicuri*, being the Second Edition that came out in 1659, wherein he Publiſhed *Letters and Diſcourſes upon ſeveral Curious Suvjects:* A Work that ought not to be Confounded with that he put out a little while after, under the Title of *Relations, Letters and Diſcourſes, upon ſeveral Curious Subjects*, wherein are contained his Journey into *Holland*, and *a Diſcourſe of Friendſhip*, which have been Printed in ſeveral Places: In the firſt of theſe Works there are ſome Speeches made by him in the Colledge of Phyſicians, (of which he was a Member,) who were wont to meet at Monſ. *de Montmor*, Dean of the Maſters of Requeſts. Theſe Diſcourſes were Curious enough, and made upon the Nature of Motion, Rarefaction, the little Knowledge we have in the Works of Nature, in purſuing the Study whereof we ſhould not however be diſcouraged, upon the Truth of our Natural Knowledge, and the Riſe of different Opinions about the ſame Subject:

It's no very hard Thing for me to believe that those Physical Commentaries, spoken of by Abbot *Menage*, in his Notes upon *Diogenes Laercius*, and which in the Opinion of that Illustrious Person ought forthwith to be Published, are the Works of the same College of Physicians before spoken of.

I ought not, my Lord, to act the Dissembler, but be free to own that the Letters before-mentioned have been of some Prejudice to the Author, tho' writ sprightly enough, because they so very openly discover the Covetous Inclinations he had to be Rich. For a Man may say, he was continually stretching out his Hand to receive, and such Avarice should be beneath the Spirit of a Philosopher, who ought to be jealous of his Reputation, always to entertain Disinterested Sentiments, and to use all his Endeavours to Contribute to his own Fame and Glory.

To draw to a Closure of my Discourse, *Sorbiere* Printed a Letter in 1664 about the Scruples made by several of the *French* Clergy, to Sign the Form drawn up about the Five Propositions of *Jansenius*; and next Year he thought fit to Publish his Thoughts about a Comet, that had for some time put all *France* into a terrible Consternation; his Design being to prove that the Frights which had

had seized on Mens Minds, by reason of the Appearance of this *Phænomenon*, were meerly Panick and Groundless; and that the Consequence which might attend this *Phænomenon*, esteemed by some as a Frown from Heaven, was doubtful and uncertain: And indeed *Sorbiere* in the main kept close to the Sentiments of *Gassendus* upon this Subject.

Sorbiere going over afterwards with some of his Friends into *England*, he Printed an Account of his Journey, which was the Cause of his being Banish'd by an Order under the King's Signet to the City of *Nantes*, from whence he was Recalled by another Order or Letter not long after. There were various Causes of his Exile talked of, but most People attributed the same to some Complaints to the King against him from the *North*, by reason of the great Freedom he took in speaking of the Count of *Ulefeld*, who had Married the Natural Daughter of the late King of *Denmark*. *Sorbiere* after the Death of Pope *Alexander* VII. put out a large Collection of Poems in several Languages, in Praise of Cardinal *Rospiglioſi*, who was, as we term it, a Papable Subject: The Event justified *Sorbiere*'s Conduct; he had corresponded with that Cardinal since his first Journey to *Rome*, whither he went again in 1667 to be present at the Exaltation of

this New Pope, whose Nomination to the Papacy gave him an Occasion, as soon as he was advertised of it, to write a Letter to *Monsieur de Montmor*, wherein he describes the Person of, and makes a Panegyrick upon, this Pope, under the Title of *Clementis* IX *Icon:* And it was during his Stay at *Rome* that he published a Discourse about the Transfusion of another Animal's Blood into a Human Body.

Having found that his Journey into *Italy* had not the Success he expected, and his Hopes being frustrated thereby, he returned to *Paris*, and presently Printed a Collection, or rather Fragments, of the Letters of *illustrium & eruditorum virorum*, wherein he had Affectation and Vanity enough to crowd in all the Letters he had the Honour to receive from Pope *Clement* IX. when he was no more than Cardinal *Rospiglioси:* He also insinuated by Way of a short Advertisement at the End of the Book, that they were published by his Son at the Request of several Curious Gentlemen, who had follicited him to it. It's certain, my Lord, his design in Printing this Imperfect Collection, which has neither Beginning nor Ending, was no other than to justifie his Journey to *Rome*, and to let the World know that he had not undertaken it upon Chimerical Pretences, but

but Well-grounded Hopes. In the mean time I have been assured from good Hands, that he had no more than an Hundred Pistoles given him to defray his Journey, of which the Bearer extorted Twenty from him. It's true indeed, they gave him some Benefices in the Province of *Bretagne*, but as they proved to be contested and litigious Titles, I do not think he ever made any great Matter of them.

Be it as it will, if *Sorbiere* had not been a Man too much addicted to his Pleasures, his Son and Successor would have had a larger Share of the Goods of Fortune: For besides that the present King in 1660 was pleased to honour him with the Place of Historiographer Royal, he gave him some Months after a Pension of a Thousand Livres upon the Abbey of *Horublieres*, a Benedictine Order, in the Dioceſs of *Noion*; and in and about Two Years after this, another Pension of the like Sum, as one of the Assembly of the *Scavans*: Besides these, *Alexander* VII. in 1656 not only ordered him Two Pensions, by Two different Bulls of *Reservatæ Pensionis*, in the County of *Venaissin*, one of which amounting to 150 Livres was upon the Cure of *Villes* in the Dioceſs of *Carpentras*, and the other of 136 upon the Prebendship of St. *Symphorian* of *Avignon*, but he likewise

Father to several Learned Persons, with their Answers, which wou'd make Two large Volumes in Folio: Besides these, he has also some Physical, Chronological, Theological, Rhetorical, and Grammatical Tracts of his Father. An Account of, or certain Memoirs, concerning the Company which began to meet at *Monsieur de Montmor*'s on the 18th of *Dec.* 1657, in order to search into Natural Causes; as also a Translation of *Syntagma Philosophiæ Epicuri*, inserted by *Gassendus* at the End of his Animadversions upon *Diogenes Laercius*, which should have been Printed in 1652, had not *Sorbiere*, to whom *Augustin Courbe* sent some of the Sheets to *Orange*, wrote to *Monsr. Conrart* to stop the Impression, in Complaisance to *Gassendus*, who for very particular Reasons was not willing to have this Translation published.

He had some Years before he died begun to Translate *Crellius*'s Treatise, *De Causis Mortis Christi*, for which he had a very high Esteem. * He had also begun to write the

* *The great Value* Sorbiere *had for this Book confirms his Inclination to* Socinianism.

Hiſtory of the *Scavans*, but did not go on with it; and I could never learn what became of his Little Treatiſe, *De pace & Concordia inter Chriſtianas concilianda*, no more than his Tranſlation of a Book Printed in 1636, Entituled, *Julii Bruti Poloni viditiæ pro Religionis Libertate*, which was not the Work of *Hubert Languet*, as ſome have imagin'd, tho' he had formerly diſguis'd himſelf under that Name in his *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*, and which we ought to eſteem as a Sequel to a Tract, called, *De Libertate Eccleſiaſtica*, Printed in 1607, and was writ undoubtedly by *Caſaubon*, who ſpeaks very openly concerning it in his 539th Letter of the *Hague* Edition, tho' he had in Two or Three preceding Letters uſed Covert Terms enough about it.

Moreover, the World is beholden to *Sorbiere*, not only for the Memoirs and Voyage of the Duke of *Rohan*, Printed by the *Elzevirs* in 1646, which he brought in Manuſcript with him from *Languedoc*; but alſo for ſome of the Works of his Friends: For 'twas he that got *Diſquiſitio Metaphyſica Gaſſendi adverſus Carteſium* to be Printed in *Holland*, as well as a little Treatiſe writ by his Unkle *Petit*, Entituled, *De Jure Principum edictis Eccleſiæ quæſito, nec Armis adverſus temerantes, aut antiquantes*

tes vindicato, to which he prefixt a large Epistle Dedicatory to the Famous *Salmatius*, wherein he makes his Unkle to have quite different Sentiments to those he would have us believe he entertain'd in process of Time from the Conversation he had with Cardinal *Bagni*, and the Illustrious Monsieur *de Peiresc*, since he makes him speak such Things as he never thought of. Finally, Monsieur *le Laboureur* having writ a Dissertation concerning the Excellency of the *French* Tongue, beyond the *Latin*, this, together with the Two Letters of the Learned Monsieur *Sluze* in Defence of the *Latin* Tongue, was published by *Sorbiere*, as also the Answers of Monsieur *Laboureur* Addrest to him, as if *Sorbiere* was Umpire of the Difference that hapned between them. These Small Pieces were not the only ones that were Addrest to him by the Learned Men of his Acquaintance: *Papin* Dedicated a Treatise to him, which he wrote against *Harvey*, concerning the *Diastole of the Heart*: *Hobbs*, that Dangerous *Englishman*, in respect to his Politicks, before-mentioned by me, Dedicated to him his Dialogue about *the Nature of Air*, *and doubling the Cube*; and the indefatigable *Baluze* Addrest also a Letter in *Latin* to him about the Life of Monsieur *de Marca*. Several other things inscribed to him I am willing to pass over in silence, that I may

not

not exceed the Bounds I have prescrib'd to my self in writing these *Memoirs*.

In short, Monsieur *Sorbiere* was acquainted with the Great and Learned Men in *France*, *Italy*, *England*, and *Germany*. *Clement* IX, before his Elevation to the Papacy, corresponded much with him; but treated him always as a Friend, without having any Regard to the bettering of his Fortune, of which *Sorbiere* very wittily complained when he said, That *he had more need of a Waggon Load of Bread than a Dish of Sweatmeats: They send a Man Loaves*, added he, *who has no Shirt to wear; they send me Bread to eat with the Butter they give me not*. His Learning otherwise was not very great; and we may say that perhaps he was as much esteemed for being the Nephew of *Samuel Petit*, as he was for his Learning: *An tu ille Samuelis Petiti Nepos*, said *Alexander* VII. to him, the very first time he had the Honour to wait upon that Pope: *Courcelles*, an Anabaptist Minister, and his Relation, had somewhat corrupted his Mind, and the Converse he had with *Manesses Ben Israel*, who was the most Learned *Rabbin* of his Time, did not a little contribute thereunto: He was very familiar for Two Years together with *Salmasius*, whose Neighbour he was

* *These Expressions are very Emphatical in* French, *and cannot bear a just Version in* English.

at

at *Leyden*: He visited him twice a Week, and there it was that he improved himself very much by the Conversation he had with that Great Man, whose Memory by Way of Acknowledgment he was willing to Celebrate in an Oration he made at the Opening of the College of *Orange*, which was since Printed: There was scarce any Body so well versed in the Philosophy of *Gassendus* as *Sorbiere*, of whose Sentiments he was tenacious from the time of his first Acquaintance with him; and I have heard my Worthy good Friend, the late Monsieur *Bernier*, frequently say, that he knew no Body but *Sorbiere* that was a better *Gassendist* than himself. He admired none of the Physicians amongst the Ancients but *Galen*, whose Method he very much approved of, tho' he found many Faults with him: Give me leave to tell you, my Lord, that no Body was better acquainted with *Rabelais*, whose Memory he rever'd; and that he chose for his Heroes *Charron* and *Montagne*, to whom at last he gave the preference before *Balzac*. He had so great a Respect for them that he could not suffer *Chanet*, a Physician of *Rochel*, to say any thing against them in his Book about the Reason of Brutes; and we ought not to forget in this Place that Father *du Bosc*, as also that Good Man M. *Mauri*, who were

for

for ſome Years entertained by the Chapter of *Thouloufe*, at the Expence of the City, for the Improvement of the *Belles Lettres*, were his moſt Intimate Friends.

THE

THE

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A

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE Preſent with which Your Majeſty has been pleaſed to Honour me Six Months ago, found me ready to ſet out on Two Journeys I made out of Your Dominions. I did not think, upon the Receipt of it, that I ought to have altered my Deſign, to go and proſtrate my ſelf before Your Majeſty, to make my Humble Acknowledgements for it. I was of Opinion I ſhould do much better in making all imaginable Haſte to Foreign Countries, in

A order

order to publiſh it as far as was poſſible for me: And that I might avoid the deteſtable Sin of Ingratitude, I have not perhaps pitched upon the worſt, moſt ungainly and diſagreeable Way for it. For, Sir, my moſt Humble Reſpects, and a Book I was ready to Publiſh, could neither of them have made ſo much Noiſe, nor reach'd ſo far as my Travels. *England* and the *Netherlands* have been Witneſſes of Your Royal Munificence to me; and the Figure which I made everywhere was a very Subſtantial Proof of what I ſaid concerning it: I have made it appear not only to the Learned Men of the Univerſities, but alſo to People of Quality, and I have ſpoke of it near enough unto the Throne, to be underſtood there. It would have been very difficult for me, Sir, if I had attempted it, to have confined my ſelf to the Celebra-

ting

ting of this Vertue alone in Your Majesty, tho' it affords very ample Matter to go upon; and so it was, that while I was answering such Questions as were put unto me, I endeavoured to touch upon all of them in as few Words as I could. Statesmen would have me recount to them Your Majesty's Application to Business, Your Penetration and Strength of Judgment; Soldiers were ravished to hear the great Things reported of Your Courage confirmed by me; the *Roman* Catholicks were charmed with the Relation of Your Piety; the Grandees with the Magnificence of Your Court; the People with the Sweetness of Your Temper; and the Fair Sex with the Goodliness of Your Person. Sir, I have everywhere found a mighty Veneration for all these Advantages which God has been pleased to bestow upon Your

Royal Perſon; and methinks I ſee the whole World ready to ſubmit to Your Empire. I have had ſome Grand Thoughts enter into my Head upon this Occaſion; but finding they could not be well comprehended within the Compaſs of my Underſtanding, I fixed my Eyes upon the Vertue Your Majeſty was pleaſed to exerciſe in reſpect to me; and it has been my Principal Care to make Men of Learning admire it. There are none of them but ſuch as flatter themſelves with ſome Hopes from it, and the little Merit found in me raiſed no Indignation in them: All of them made their Reflections upon the Choice Your Majeſty made of me from among thoſe of the laſt Form, and found it to be juſt, that the Love I have for the Sciences, and the Zeal wherewith I have endeavoured all my Life-time to advance the Reputation,

tation, and ſuſtain the Intereſts of them, ſhould receive ſome Compenſation. Indeed, Sir, I have always puſh'd on, and encouraged the great Maſters of Knowledge to Labour, and have had ſome Share in the Intrigues of the Muſes: I have even been ſo happy as to be heard by them, and to gain ſome Reputation amongſt them. The conſtant Correſpondence I have held with the chief Heads of *Parnaſſus* has enboldened me to believe, that Your Majeſty has not ſhewn me Favour without knowing of me, and that you have called to mind the Kindneſs his late Eminency had for me. Your Majeſty hath rightly judged that in this Warfare of Letters; ſome Trumpeters are alſo neceſſary as well as Officers and Soldiers: And I may without any Vanity enumerate my ſelf among thoſe, who are uſeful no otherwiſe than to ſpur on thoſe that are moſt capable to promote

mote Learning, or to applaud their Noble Productions. I have perhaps acquired some Judgment in Things; and 'tis not likely that I should study so much, and learn nothing, and consider the State of the World so long, without making some Observations: However, Sir, I can pretend to be answerable for nothing but my Good-will. If your Majesty finds it any Ways useful to Your Service, I most humbly intreat You would do me the Honour to Imploy me, and You will have a Proof upon all Occasions of the Ardour and Fidelity, wherewith Your Favours, my Birth, and particular Inclination, oblige me to be

SIR,

Your Majesty's most Humble,
Most Obedient and Faithful
Subject and Servant,

Paris, Dec. 12th, 1663.

SORBIERE.

TO

TO THE

READER.

WHEN I wrote the Account of my Journey to England, *I did not design to publish it to the World, and therefore I have only slightly touched upon several things, which would have required a stricter Examination to be set in a true Light; and I have dwelt upon some others, which perhaps you were no Ways sollicitous to know. I have made up my Journal of nothing but what may compleat a Letter, fit to divert a Person of Quality who Loves me extreamly, and for whom I have a very great Esteem: He is acquainted with my Stile, and will readily pardon the Uncorrectness of it. For as he knows me thoroughly, he knows very well at the same time that my good Intentions are never wanting. But as my other Friends were desirous I should let them have the Benefit of my Journal by publishing of it; I intreat the Readers to entertain the same Thoughts of me as they have had, and at least to excuse the Errata's of the Press, of which I shall here give no Particulars. If this Undertaking proves any ways agreeable to you, it may be an Incouragement*

ment for me to communicate some other Things that may be more useful to the World: I'll leave you to judge by the Observations I have made in the space of Three Months only, of the Reflections I may have been Capable of in Thirty Years, and of what new Things I am able to impart from the Learned Men of my time, most of whom I have seen, or have received very great Information concerning them: For other Subjects do not come within my Boundaries, and I treat of them only cursorily when I happen to say any Thing of them.

A Journey to *England*,

CONTAINING

Many Things relating to the State of Learning and Religion, *&c.*

SIR,

PUrſuant to your Command I ſhall give you an Account of my Journey into *England*, and the Tour I have ſince made into *Holland*, occaſioned by your going to *Marſal*; for as I had not the good Fortune to find you at *Philipville* upon my Return from beyond Sea, I was not willing to go immediately for *Paris*: In the mean time, the Diſappointment I Encountred with in not meeting you at Home, would not let me be at Eaſe, but I was obliged to go and find out ſome Diverſion along the *Maes*, which is but Six Leagues off: I had ſo much Satisfaction in it, and the Country of *Liege* was ſo pleaſant, eſpecially from *Huy* to *Viſay*, that I reſolved to go to *Maeſtricht* by the Way of *Aix la Chapelle*, and of *Juliers* along the *Rhine* to *Cologn*, by which Fine River I went down to the Province of *Utrecht*, from whence I was

The Occaſion of the Diſcourſe.

tempted to Travel by the Way of *Amsterdam* to the *Hague:* This Journey was more diverting to me than the former, tho' I have not so much to say to you concerning it, because I have already satisfied your Curiosity in the Account I formerly gave you: And after I should once speak of the Famous *Borry*, and some other Illustrious Persons I had the Honour to see, I should have nothing else to entertain you with: For I am not so well acquainted with the Politicks of that Country as to enter upon them; but I hope we may one Day together see these Parts, of which I could give you an agreeable Description.

Journey from Paris *to* Calais.

I am therefore, Sir, to acquaint you, that I travelled from *Paris* to *Calais*, in the Company of some very good-humour'd Gentlemen of the *Polish* Nation, who spoke *Latin* very well, and explained themselves indifferently well in *French*. One of them play'd excellently well on the Violin, and entertained us with a Dance Twice a Day. These Diversions concluded with a Comedy, to which we went all together, before we parted, while we were at *Calais:* I was so fortunate at my coming away from the Play-house, as to meet, in the same Inn where I lodged, with Madam *de Fiennes*, who offered to give me my Passage to *Dover*, in a Ship the Duke of *York* was to send for her, which indeed Arrived next Day, and we had Notice given us, when we were entertained at Dinner by the Marquess *de Courtebonne*, that the Wind was Fair for us.

His Stay at Calais.

This Dinner obliges me by the Way, and in Discharge of my Conscience, to say that which undoubtedly you know better than I, that this is one of the most Civil Gentlemen in the Kingdom, and that he does every thing with an extraordinary good Grace: He treated Madam

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de Fiennes, who was going for *England*, and did me the Honour to make me one of his Gueſts: I was much pleaſed with the good Entertainment, and no leſs with the Converſation: He could have ſaid nothing finer nor more acceptable than what he did concerning the great Parts, and conſummate Prudence, which he had obſerved in the King from his Youth; and yet the Marqueſs could not ſay ſo much as that Lady, who had been Bred at Court, and was a diligent Obſerver of the wonderful Genius of that Prince, of which ſhe gave us many excellent Particulars, attended with all their Circumſtances, inſomuch that I could have wiſhed the Wind might have detained us Five or Six Days longer at *Calais*: For I improved mightily in ſo good a School; and I was leſs concerned than I had been about returning my Thanks to the King for the Favour which I received at that time. But theſe Sorts of Entertainments were obliged to give way to the Neceſſity we lay under of Embarking while the Wind was Fair.

We were Seven Hours in our Paſſage to *Dover*, tho' it be but Seven Leagues over; the Weather was very Fair, but the uſual Diſorder which thoſe who are not accuſtomed to the Sea, are Subject to, hindred me from putting Madam *de Fiennes* upon renewing her Diſcourſe about a Subject which I found ſhe was very ready to talk of: She went for *London* in her own Coach, and I travelled by the Way of *Canterbury* and *Rocheſter* to *Graveſend*, where, for the greater Expedition, I took the Boat, and the Opportunity of the Tide, to go to that City: It's Fifty Miles from *Dover* to *London*, from the firſt of which *Canterbury* is diſtant Twelve Miles; and a good Horſeman, well Mounted, may Gallop it in an Hour's Time: For thoſe *Paſſage to Dover.*

who do not know how to Pace cannot Ride Leiſurely, but are ſo much uſed to Three Quarter Speed, that the Country People who go to Market ſeem to Ride as if it were for a Benefice.

This Speed, they make on Horſeback, appeared ſo much the more remarkable to me, becauſe of its been uſed in a Country where the People are very lazy, which I can very well affirm without Offence; for they do perhaps glory in their Sloth, and believe that true Living conſiſts in their knowing how to live at Eaſe: I have ſo many other Remarks to make upon the Cuſtoms and Manners of this Nation, that I muſt inform you to the Honour of it, (with which I ſhall begin,) that the Freedom I might uſe in doing of the ſame would not be reſented, tho' I were to Write in their own Language: For they take Pleaſure in hearing the Truth told; and the Character of the People has been more than once Printed at *London*, and that Writ by a Native, who hath not ſpared either Reproof or Cenſure, in reſpect to Matters truly Culpable; but has not at all fallen upon the Gentry and better Sort, who are by no means to be confounded with the Populace. As you will meet with gloomy, extravagant, and fanatical Humours everywhere, ſo you will in like manner with Men of good Parts, ſo that there is not an equal Neceſſity of their being Purged from theſe Defects: However, it may be ſaid, that moſt of the *Engliſh* are liable to fall into them, without they be upon their Guard, and unleſs they confine themſelves within the natural Inclination they have to Lazineſs, Preſumption, and a ſort of Extravagance of Thought, which is to be met with in their beſt Writings. but after they have Subjected theſe Inclinations, (for which I do not blame them, becauſe they proceed from the

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Nature of the Climate,) they are endued with very excellent Qualities; for tho' ſome have had the Hardineſs to ſay, that the *Engliſh* have skimm'd the Vices of other Nations, and deſpiſe their Vertues, yet there is ſomething in them that is great, and which they ſeem to retain from the Old *Romans:* They have at this Day a ſort of Gladiators, Bull and Bear-baiting, and Dog-fighting; they are great lovors of their own Country; very much uuited amongſt themſelves againſt Strangers, intrepid in Dangers, and have a Hundred other Excellencies, which I ſhall take notice of as they fall in my Way.

The Accompt intermixed.

I will not go about to give you a Methodical Deſcription of my Journey, nor put my Relation into ſuch an order as I might do, if I were to write the ſame with any other Deſign than to divert you. Who is there that does not know ſuch near Neighbours? Do we not ſee one another every Day? And have we not Books to inſtruct us in what we do not ſee? But, Sir, I preſume you will take ſome pleaſure in the Irregularity of my Stile, and be glad to hear my Notions and Adventures: I deſire therefore that you would not expect any Method or Ornament in my Writing, but be pleaſed with the Freedom of my Thoughts upon ſome very Important Subjects which fall in among the Trifles I ſhall recount unto you.

The French *ill receiv'd in* England.

The Eſteem which I carried along with me into *England*, for a Nation whoſe good Mien has given them a Name, the Etymology of which redounds much to their Advantage, withheld me from taking Offence at the difference I preſently found, between the obliging Behaviour, wherewith the *Engliſh* are entertained at *Calais*, and the Contempt or Affronts put upon the *French*, for moſt part of the time we ſtaid at *Dover*. You would be apt

to say, that those Two Towns having daily Correspondence, the *French* were never seen in the last of these Places where the Children in the Streets run after them, Crying aloud, *a Monsieur*, *a Monsieur*, and this is the first Affront put upon them: But as they come by degrees to be heated, or that they are either provoked by their getting away as far as they can from them, or endeavouring to make them hold their Tongues, they fall then to the opprobious Terms of *French* Dogs, *French* Dogs, which is the Epithet they give us in *England*, as I have heard them often call the *French* in *Holland Mushroons*, which yet is more tolerable than *Matto Francese*, i. e. *Fooliſh Frenchmen*, a Name by which the Common People of *Italy* are pleased to distinguish them: Altho' the Quality and Better Sort in all the Neighbouring Nations of *France* sufficiently own that we are not Indebted to them for good Sence, and other Engaging Qualities, which they envy in us.

They give some Occasion for it.

But to tell you the truth, both the one and the other make use of these opprobious Terms with some Reason, upon Account of the Noise we make at our coming amongst them, and by Way of reprehending a certain Forwardness in us, which they call Indiscretion, which in Effect makes us appear very ridiculous to them: For this Forwardness is so oppoſite to their Serious Temper, and the Coolness of their Proceedings, as well as to the Patience with which they allow every one to perform what he goes about, that I my self formerly was surprized with it, when I lived for some Years in the Northern Countries: I was Conscious of nothing as to my own Part whereby I might give any Offence; but I have seen others much out of the Way; for as soon as they appear'd

appear'd upon the Key, what with the Noiſe they themſelves and their Servants made, they drew a Kennel of Dogs about them, which with hideous Barking followed them to their Lodgings: Being offended therewith, and the Dogs likewiſe growing furious, they came to throw Stones at them, but the Townſmen interpoſing, the Storm was prevented: Theſe things depend ſo much upon Men's Behaviour, that I can ſay I never received more Civility in all my Travels than at *Dover*, when, upon my Return, the Cuſtom-houſe Officers, who were Two Rich Merchants, to whom I was recommended by another from *London*, ſumptuouſly Treated me, and as many *Frenchmen* as I would, whom they deſired I ſhould bring along with me. Now, Sir, ſeeing you are deſirous to know all my Adventures, I'll tell you, that I might not take Poſt, or be obliged to make uſe of the Stage Coach, I went from *Dover* to *London* in a Waggon, it was drawn by Six Horſes one before another, and drove by a Waggoner, who walked by the Side of it: He was Cloathed in Black, and appainted in all things like another St. *George*; he had a Brave Mounteero on his Head, and was a merry Fellow, fancy'd he made a Figure, and ſeemed mightly pleaſed with himſelf: It's neceſſary I ſhould obſerve to you, for the better Underſtanding of what I ſhall ſay concerning the Humour of the Nation, and the Appearance the People make in City and Country, that you will meet with no Faces there that move Pity, nor no Habit that denotes Miſery: Not but that they have Poor amongſt them, as well as in other Parts; but their Poverty is not ſo great; they ſcarce want any Neceſſaries of Life, which when they have once obtained, their Idleneſs makes them careleſs of any

more; their Pride keeps them back from pushing after Superfluities, which others take so much Pains to pursue.

Uncivility to Strangers.

I shall not enter upon a Detail of the Entertainment we met with upon the Road, because I understood it not; but I learnt from a *Zealander*, with whom I spoke *Flemish*, that the *English* made large Reckonings, that the People were of a railing and backbiting Temper, as well as those on the Continent, and that an *Englishman* could not transform himself into another Man; they are very Civil to one another, and use much Circumspection in their Conversation: But he is unhappy that cannot keep pace with them in their Language, for they are not wanting in making their Advantage of those who do not understand it. This I have experienced in Two Journeys, I mean this to *London*, and the other to *Oxford*, at both which times I found my self under great Inconveniency; for my Fellow Travellers not only declined in their Inns to take Care as they ought of a Stranger, who could not tell how to make the People understand him, but I was as little regarded as if I had been a Bale of Goods; nay, there were Attempts made to incommode me: I was desirous to shew my Civilities by my Interpreter to those who were not so much tainted with Rusticity, which they were so far from taking right, that they deemed it to be Railery, and an Affront, which embarrassed me so, that I must have recourse unto my Interpreter to be duly apprized of it: In my other Journey to *Oxford* I was not liable to the same Inconveniency, for I took a *French* Gentleman in the Coach with me, who spoke good *English*, and had been a Soldier under *Cromwell* for Seven Years together: He snubbed a Student that affronted him, and this worthy

worthy Gentleman informed me that there are no People in the World ſo eaſily frightned into Subjection as the *Engliſh*: For as ſoon as ever you repreſs their Inſolence, you do the ſame by their Courage; and all that they have is a Salley of Pride, to cover their Faint-heartedneſs and Cowardly Diſpoſitions.

County of Kent.

Kent appeared to me to be a very Fine and Fruitful Country, eſpecially in Apples and Cherries; and the Trees, which are planted in Rows every where, make as it were a continued Train of Gardens: The Country mounts up into little Hills, and the Valleys are beautified with an Eternal Verdure; and the Graſs here ſeemed to me to be finer and of a better Colour than in other Places, and therefore 'tis fitter to make thoſe Parterres, ſome of which are ſo even, that they Bowl upon them as eaſily as on a great Billiard Table: And as this is the uſual Diverſion of Gentlemen in the Country, they have thick Rowling Stones to keep the Green ſmooth: All the Country is full of Parks, which yield a delightful Proſpect, and where you may ſee large herds of Deer; but their Gardens have no other Ornament than theſe Greens; and the beſt Caſtles you meet with are not to be compared with the leaſt of above Four Thouſand Pleaſure Houſes you have about *Paris*: However, it muſt be confeſſed the Eye cannot but be much delighted with the natural, and even neglected Beauty of the Country, and the *Engliſh* have reaſon to value it; for when *Clement* VI. gave the Fortunate Iſlands to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*'s Son, and that they beat the Drum to raiſe Men in *Italy* for that Expedition, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador who was then at *Rome* was preſently alarmed, and left the Place, as ſuppoſing this Expedition could be deſigned againſt no other Country but his;

his: It's so cover'd with Trees, that it looks like a Forest when you view it from an Eminence, by reason of the Orchards and Quick-set Hedges, which enclose the Arable Lands and Meadows.

England *very well describ'd by* Cambden.

There is no Country in the World so well known as *England*; for *Cambden*, by the Order of King *James* I. gave a Description of it, and for that end travell'd all over it, which took him up several Years: He followed the Course of the Rivers, and described every thing he met with on each Side of them: He made several Journeys into the open Countries, penetrated through Forests, and cross'd over Mountains, to compleat his Design; so that he discovered every thing that was worth observing, exactly set down the Situation of the least Castle, and imbellished the whole with History, Genealogies, and the Alliances of the most considerable Families. His Book makes up the most Curious Part of *Blaeu*'s *Atlas*: *Cambden* says, the whole Island of *Great-Britain* is 1836 Miles in Circumference, and *Speed* makes the length of it, from *South* to *North*, to reach from 50 to 60 Degrees, and 30 Minutes, and that *England* contains 9285 Parishes, 25 Bishopricks, and Two Archbishopricks, *viz.* *Canterbury* and *York*.

The City of *Canterbury* is the Metropolis of the County of *Kent*; it's surrounded with a Wall, which most of the Towns in *England* have not, tho' 'tis not their Largeness that deprives them of this Ornament, or Defence: For tho' this Place has the Advantage of being the Capital of one of the finest Counties of the Kingdom, it's not much larger than *Montargis*: The Houses are low, and the Stories scarce high enough for a Man of a middle Size, who can touch the Ceil-

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ing with his Hand. They glaze their Windows on the outſide, and fix the ſame to the Wall, only they leave a Caſement to open in the middle; and this they do only in the upper Rooms, for below their Windows have Iron Bars on the inſide, and a Curtain to draw before them in the Night, without any Shutters, which is a Sign that they are neither afraid of Inſults, nor Robbing. Beſides, their Windows are very low, and ſcarce higher than a Man's Waſte, as he goes along the Street. This is a common thing all *England* over, that they raiſe their Buildings Balcony-wiſe into ſeveral Angles, or Semi-Circles, like ſo many little Towers, that are an Ornament without to the Houſes, when you are once accuſtomed to the Sight. This makes the Rooms more Commodious, Lighter, and you may ſee without being diſcerned your ſelf what is done at the Corners of the Streets, whereas we can only behold what is ſtraight before us. The Stories of their Houſes jet out one above another, ſo that the higheſt Rooms are larger than the loweſt, and you can paſs along the Streets without being ſo much as wet with Rain. The Body of the Cathedral is 23 Rods in length, that is 512 Feet; hence you go up to Two Choirs, erected behind one another, each having 20 Steps to them; they are ſupported by Three Rows of a kind of Serpentine Pillars, of the *Gothick* Order, and under the Choirs they Preach in *French*, but the *Engliſh* Service is in the Chapter adjoining to the firſt Choir: There is a ſmall River runs by *Canterbury*, which turns ſome Miles, and waters the Meadows and Gardens, that are about the City.

Rocheſter is much larger than *Canterbury*, if you take in the Suburbs, which run out above Half a League along the *Medway*, upon which the Rocheſter.

the Town ſtands: It is diſtant Seven Miles from *Graveſend* and the Sea: We went out of Town over a Stone Bridge, that conſiſts of ſeveral Arches, and is adorned with a Parapet of Iron Baliſters, Six Foot high, to hinder People from going upon it, and their Hats to be blown away with the Wind. From this Bridge you have a very agreeable Proſpect of the River, and of the Suburbs of *Canterbury*, as far as *Chatham*, where moſt of the Men of War are Built, and where, after their Return home from Sea they are uſually laid up.

Graveſend. *Graveſend*, where I lay, is not much inferiour to *Rocheſter*, tho' it is not a Biſhop's See; but the Mouth of the *Thames*, and the Neighbourhood of *London*, makes it pleaſant enough: You daily meet with ſomething new here to divert you; and this Noble River, for near 20 Miles from hence to the Capital of *England*, is cover'd with Veſſels of all Sorts: You go up and down twice aday by the Help of the Tide, and that with ſo much Eaſe, that your Paſſage ſeldom exceeds Five or Six Hours. The Banks of the *Thames* are not delightful near *Graveſend*, as they are ſome Miles higher up, becauſe they are nothing but Chalk-Pits, but after you have paſt them, you have nothing but continued Villages till you come to *London*. There is ſcarce any thing to be ſeen on each Side of the River but Ship Carpenters, and Multitudes of all Sorts of Perſons imploy'd in Building and Fitting out Veſſels for Sea; you have them of all Ages and Sizes; and 'tis ſurprizing to ſee what a vaſt Number there is of them. *Greenwich* lyes about half Way on the Left, where the Queen-Mother has a Fine Pleaſure-houſe.

Being

Being come to *London*, I took up as convenient Lodgings as I could, the better to ſatisfie my Curioſity, and pitched upon *Covent-Garden*, to which the *French* that Travel, and have Buſineſs at Court, uſually reſort as to an *Exchange*. It's not far from *Whitehall*, nor *Somerſet-Houſe*, and 'tis certainly the Fineſt Place in the City, or rather Suburbs; for you go into *Weſtminſter* out of the City through *Temple-Bar*, and 'tis as long as from the *Pontneuf* to *Chailliot*, Two Thirds of this Space reaching to the breadth of Seven or Eight Parallel Streets: Moſt of our young *French*, who go to *London*, know no more as it were than this Quarter only, and go no farther by Land than the *Old-Exchange*, or by Water to the *Tower*, and therefore they ſay *London* is but a Gut of a City. As for my Part I went into all the Parts of it, and was ſurprized with the Vaſtneſs of this City, ſo that I ſhall not ſtick to ſay that it is larger, and has more Houſes in it, than *Paris*; tho' I muſt add, it has not ſo many People, and that in many other Things it's not to be compared to it. *His Arrival at London.*

The Houſes in *London* are not ſo high as thoſe in *Paris*, nor ſo full of People, being not ſo commodious for letting Lodgings: There is ſcarce above One Family in a Houſe, unleſs it be about the *New-Exchange* and the Court, where there are a great many Lodgers, and Rooms furniſhed, and lett at reaſonable Rates, and a Crown a Week will ſerve very well. I had One at that Price, One Pair of Stairs, near *Salisbury-Houſe*, for I was very deſirous to be frequently with Mr. *Hobbs*, who lived with the Earl of *Devonſhire*, his Patron, of whoſe Admirable Qualifications I have many Things to ſay to you: *Covent-Garden* is not altogether ſo large as the *Place-Royale*, *City of London.* *Covent-Garden.*

Royale, but 'tis much finer, as well becauſe it ſtands high, as that it has Houſes erected only on Two Sides of it, the Third being the Front of a very Fine Church, and the Fourth the Gardens of *Bedford-Houſe*, whoſe Trees you can ſee above the Walls, which are very low. The Houſes of *Covent-Garden* are more ſtately than ours, by reaſon the Arches are higher, and the Portico larger, being raiſed Two Steps, and the whole paved with large Squares of Free-Stone. The New-Exchange. *New-Exchange* is not far off, it ſtands in the High Street, called the *Strand*, and conſiſts of Two double Galleries, one above another, with Eight Rows of Shops: It's Built of Black Stone, and as long as from the beginning of the *Dauphine*'s Gallery, to the end of that of the *Priſoners*. I'll leave you to judge whether there are not Fine Goods to be had there, as well as Fine Shop-Women. Old-Exchange. But the *Old-Exchange*, with its Four Galleries only, claims the Preference before it, and theſe Galleries are Built over the Place where the Merchants meet. So far, Sir, did that Part of the Town where I fixed appear to me by much the beſt, becauſe 'tis that which is frequented by our Countrymen, and alſo by People of Quality, and is the Fineſt and moſt Regular Building in *London*. I ſay, *London*, tho' 'tis uſual for thoſe who live in this Part of the Town to ſay, *I go to London*, for indeed 'tis a Journey for thoſe who live near *Weſtminſter*: 'Tis true, they may ſometimes get thither in a quarter of an Hour by Water, which they cannot do in leſs than Two Hours by Land, for I am perſwaded no leſs Time will be neceſſary to go from one end of its Suburbs to the other; and I would not undertake to walk it where 'tis broadeſt, and that is from *Shoreditch* over the *Bridge*, even beyond St. *George*'s

Bigneſs of London.

George's *Fields*, in leſs than Three quarters of an Hour, by which you may compute the Bigneſs of *London:* But, as I obſerved before, our Countrymen, who go thither, do not ſee a quarter of it, and it requires a Year's time to live in it before you can have a very exact Idea of the Place, which yet I have not, tho' I know ſo much as to write to you as I do.

Lincolns-Inn-Fields is a Square, and much larger than our *Place-Royale*. It conſiſts of Three Rows of Buildings, the Houſes are ſtately, and each of them has a low Wall before it, which hinders the Sight of the Ground-Rooms. It were to be wiſhed they would alter them into Iron Rails, which would not only be an Ornament to them, but make the Square appear larger. There is a Fine Inn of Court, called *Lincolns-Inn*, on one Side of it. *Moor-Fields* is another Place, forming Two great Squares, encloſed within Rails; from the firſt of them you go up to the ſecond, and thence to the third, all of them beſet with Trees from one Corner to another. *Smithfield-Rounds*, which is Triangular, and ſeveral other Places of leſs Note, I paſs over, and I ſhall not take upon me to give an Account of the New Buildings carried on towards St. *James*'s, which cannot be Inferior to thoſe of *Belle-Court* at *Lyons:* There are but few Publick Fountains in this City, and thoſe few that are, inſtead of being an Ornament to thoſe Places and Streets where they are to be met with, do but offend the Sight, for they are nothing but naſty Square Towers, into which there is an Entrance by Two little Doors to draw Water, which goes unobſerved by Strangers, without they are informed that they are Water Conduits. *Fountains.*

The

The City Houſe, which they call *Guild-Hall*, is an inconſiderable Building, and ſtands in a narrow Street: It ſerves inſtead of a Hall for Clothiers, where they bring all the Cloth they have to Sell on certain Days in the Week, tho' *Drapers-Hall* ſtands near the *Old-Exchange*, which has a Fine Garden to it. I am not to forget the vaſt Number of Bookſellers Shops I have obſerved in *London*; for beſides thoſe who are ſet up here and there in the City, they have their particular Quarters, ſuch as St. *Paul's-Church-Yard*, and *Little-Britain*, where there is twice as many as in the *Rue Saint Jacque* in *Paris*, and who have each of them Two or Three Ware-houſes.

Shops. I muſt tell you before I proceed to other more curious Obſervations, that perhaps there is no City in the World that has ſo many, and ſuch Fine Shops; the Stallage is not very rich, but the Sight is agreeable; for they are large, and the decorations are as valuable as thoſe of the Stage; the Scene is new everywhere, which extreamly pleaſes and attracts the Eye as we go along: The Publick Buildings are not very remarkable; and there are no other than *White-Hall* and Two Churches we have Occaſion to ſpeak of, and we have not much to ſay of them neither: The great Hall belonging to the Court is a new Building, erected for extraordinary Audiences, and to entertain Ambaſſadors or Members of Parliament, and therefore 'tis called the Banqueting-Houſe: It looks very ſtately, becauſe the reſt of the Palace is ill Built, and nothing but a heap of Houſes, erected at divers times, and of different Models, which they made Contiguous in the beſt Manner they could for the Reſidence of the Court; which yet makes it a more Commodious Habitation than the *Louvre*, for it contains above

Two

Two Thouſand Rooms, and that between a Fine Park and a Noble River, ſo that 'tis admirably well Situated for the Conveniency of walking, and going about Buſineſs into the City.

St. *James*'s-*Park* is at leaſt as large again as the Garden of the Palace of *Orleans*; near St. *James*'s-*Houſe*, where the Duke of *York* reſides, there is a *Mall* of 850 Geometrical Paces in length, beſet with Two Rows of large Trees, and near a ſmall Wood, from whence you may ſee a Fine Mead, a Long *Canal*, *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, and the Suburbs, which afford an admirable Proſpect: The King hath Erected a tall Pile in this *Park*, the better to make uſe of Teleſcopes, with which Sir *Robert Murray* ſhew'd me *Saturn* and the Satellites of *Jupiter*: The moſt remarkable Churches in *London* are that of *Weſtminſter*, formerly an Abbey of Benedictines, and the other of *Paul*'s, for thus they familiarly name the Church Dedicated to that Saint. *St. James's.* *Weſtminſter.*

It's the longeſt that I have ſeen, and not above half the length of it made uſe of; the other Part in *Cromwell*'s Time was made a Stable and Guard-Houſe for his Troopers; and there was Room enough ſtill left for a Hall, of which *Cromwell* endeavoured to make an Advantage, as well as of the Buildings without the Church, which hide the Frontiſpiece of it: All the other Churches are Built after the Proteſtant Way, and are no more than great Anditories, with Galleries to them, for to Preach in only, and recite ſome Scraps of a Liturgy, at which few Perſons are preſent; for the People have an Averſion to it; and the National Religion, now ſet up, is not that which is moſt followed. *St. Paul's.* *Churches.*

Religion. And here, Sir, give me leave to tell you that the King of *England* has done the boldeſt thing that could have been attempted, in Re-eſtabliſhing Epiſcopacy with ſo high a Hand, That having been the Stumbling-Block in his Father's Time: The Presbyterians are very numerous here, and all the other Sects may one Day Unite with them againſt the Hierarchy. By Hierarchy I mean the Government of the Church by Biſhops, tho' to ſpeak properly, they are no more than a Shadow of the Order, and a Corruption of the True Hierarchy, which is nowhere to be found but in the Church of *Rome*. The Biſhops in *England* are not brought back under the Conduct of the Chief of their Order, and the Spiritual Power is Subordinate to the Temporal; ſo that the King here is accounted to be the Head of the Church of *England*, and they mention him as ſuch in their Publick Prayers. It muſt neceſſarily have come to that paſs, ſince the Schiſm in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. which withdrew the Kingdom of *England* from under the Obedience of the See of *Rome*, and that for Abominable Reaſons, that are known to all the World. Upon this Revolution they retained what External Face they could of the Catholick Religion, and this is what the Puritans complain of to this Day. Their Tenets, as well as thoſe of their Adverſaries, are almoſt equally deſtructive; and there is no great Matter of Difference between them as to Doctrinals. The Presbyterians make no Boggle at the Eſſentials of the Church and their Conſciences are not ſqueamiſh in that Reſpect; but their Ambition is not ſatisfied, and their Intereſt makes them oppoſe its Diſcipline: The main Point is, that the Biſhops have the Honour and Profit on their Side; while the inferior Clergy are mean enough,

enough, and cannot without great Difficulty Preach: However, they do not expoſe themſelves ſo as to alledge theſe for the real Cauſes of their Diſcontent; but they find they are under a Neceſſity of producing more plauſible Pretences.

The Presbyterians are Enemies to the Biſhops.

Wherefore they are pleaſed to ſay, that the Epiſcoparians are not come off as much as they ſhould from *Rome*; and that ſo much External Conformity with the Romaniſts, as is to be ſeen in the *Engliſh* Churches, inclines People to return to the Communion and Practice of their Anceſtors, and to embrace the ſame Doctrine: In ſhort, it looks as if Matters of Faith have been no otherwiſe regarded from the time of the firſt Defection of the Nation, unleſs it were to put them upon a Separation from the Order and Diſcipline of the Church, and therefore they have quarrelled only with thoſe Articles which came neareſt to them: Hereticks have done the ſame thing in Divinity, which 'tis ſaid the *Turks* have been wont to do in their Empire, which was to make a vaſt Deſolation between them and thoſe Powers they had moſt Reaſon to fear: They have endeavoured to deſtroy the Harmony between the Apoſtles Creed, and that which is taught in the Catholick Church, in Conformity to that Abridgment of the Doctrine of Chriſtianity; inſomuch that thoſe who are Enemies to Sound Divinity, being not able to find amidſt the Defects of their own the Agreement there is between our firſt common Principles, and the whole of our Doctrine and Diſcipline, it ſeems to them as if there were none at all. I will not take upon me to give you a more particular Explanation of this Matter; for you cannot but of your ſelf diſcern that the Controverſies raiſed about the

Method of Hereticks.

Eucharist, Purgatory, Meritorious Works, the Primacy of *Peter*, the Succession of the Popes, Authority of Councils, Infallibility of the Catholick Church, come short of being Fundamental Points, and have been called in Question for no other End than to make Way for Schism and Rebellion, by which they would have an Opportunity of withdrawing themselves from under the Discipline, and to seize on the Revenues of the Church. The first thing they did upon their pretended Reformation, was to Seize the Church Lands, to Expel the Religious Orders; and in some Places their Fury carried them so far as to Demolish the Churches: It must be confessed that that was only done in *France*, and that the People of *England* used more Moderation than our Calvinists. And this is that which provokes the Puritans, I mean the pretended Reformed, according to the Model of *Geneva*, who are also called Presbyterians; but why I know not, unless it be that their Assemblies are Governed by Lay-Elders.

Puritans Envy the Dignity of Bishops.

These Men are continually Inveighing against the Episcopal Jurisdiction, which the King hath restored, and say, it's a Shame they should submit to these Prelates, or maintain that Bishops are the Apostles Successors, (which is very true in the Catholick Church,) and that they have the same Authority over the Inferior Clergy, as the others had over the Seventy Disciples; that they should have Admission to the House of Lords; and that some of them had been Lords High Treasurers of *England*: I cannot tell whether any among the Presbyterian Ministers would refuse this Great Office if it was offered them; and whether they would adjudge it to be incompatible with their Ministry and Integrity: For they cannot

not produce any Solid Reaſons why the Treaſury can be put into better Hands than thoſe of Men of Fortune, or ſuch as make a more particular Profeſſion of Religion and Piety: Nevertheleſs, I have heard the Puritans exclaim againſt Dr. *Juxon*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his being Treaſurer, as a great Crime; and 'tis certain that Archbiſhop *Laud*, his Predeceſſor, loſt his Life for no other Reaſon but becauſe of his being a great Favourite of the late King, and for the Vigour with which he ſerved his Royal Maſter, during the time of his Prime Miniſtry: You are no Stranger to the Hiſtory of that Time, but perhaps you do not know as well as I do all the particular Objections the Preſbyterians have againſt Epiſcopal Government.

Presbyterians find fault with Epiſcopal Government.

They oppoſe as much as poſſibly they can an Oath put to the Clergy, called Canonical Obedience, which is a kind of Form, whereby they acknowledge that the Government of the Church by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Deans, and whatever elſe depends upon this pretended Hierarchy, hath nothing in it that is repugnant to the Word of God: They are not willing to ſubmit to the Juriſdiction of Spiritual Courts, and to Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures: And 'tis not to be wondred that they have ſuch an Averſion for Biſhops, if what ſome Men lay to their Charge is true; that they very much abuſe their Juriſdiction, by impoſing Penalties upon People, and pronouncing Excommunications for frivolous Offences, by Virtue of which they will refuſe them Chriſtian Burials in their Church-Yards: Beſides, the Presbyterians lay Pluralities to their Charge, as being incompatible with their Cures, which muſt be neglected, and that thoſe who have great Benefices leave them uſually to the Care of their Servants,

or other deſpicable Perſons: They alſo take Notice of this Difference between a Biſhop and a Clergyman of an Inferior Rank, that this laſt durſt not ſpeak, nor be covered in his Preſence; and the Biſhops have ſo Abſolute a Diſpoſal of every thing, that they neither conſult with the Chapter or any other Council about them.

Other Faults found. That which the Presbyterians ſtill find more fault with is, that the Church has Feſtival Days, (ſome of which are Dedicated to the Bleſſed Virgin,) as alſo Altars, Conſecration of Churches, Bowing to the Name of Jeſus, Burning of Candles, Kneeling, Mitres, Surplices, Copes, Croſſes, Muſick, and Baptizing with the Sign of the Croſs: They are frightned with the Names of Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chapters, Canons, Officials, Vicars and Curates; but that which enrages them moſt, is the *Engliſh* Liturgy, and 'tis upon that Account that they roſe up in Arms about Four and Twenty Years ago: This Matter juſtly requires us to look back a little, and you will not be ſorry that I take up ſome ſmall Part of your Time to ſet this Affair in its true Light.

The Reſuming of Church Benefices erected into Baronies, the Cauſe of the Civil War. The Yearly Incomes of divers Eccleſiaſtical Benefices in *Scotland*, having at the Beginning of the pretended Reformation been reunited to the Demeſns of the Crown, the Government was little the better for it; becauſe the ſame were freely given away to the younger Sons of Gentlemen, and Noblemen, who wanted them: The Gentlemen finding the Sweet of them, and having frequently obtained Survivorſhips, they came to look upon theſe Eſtates to be their own; from whence puſhing farther, and abuſing the King's Liberality, they got the moſt conſiderable Benefices, or ſeveral

ral put together, Erected into Baronies, and this during the Minority of *James* VI. about the Year 1567. That Learned Prince came in time to be ſenſible he had his Hands tied up, and was by that Means become incapable of rewarding Men of Merit, or recompencing his own Servants, which put him upon recalling thoſe Grants. But as he found much Oppoſition from thoſe Lords who poſſeſt theſe new Baronies, he deſiſted in the Year 1617: But his Son, *Charles* I. out of Favour to the Clergy, undertook the Buſineſs with more Vigour in 1633. The Intereſted Nobility thereupon excited the Puritanical Clergy to oppoſe it; they took the Scent, but more eſpecially ſtomach'd the *Engliſh* Liturgy, which was at that time deſigned to be introduced amongſt them, that ſo there might be an Uniformity of Worſhip in the Three Kingdoms: Tho' it was the Intereſt of the poor Clergy, the King ſhould reſume thoſe Church Lands, that he might the better augment their Livings, which were very mean. But the Animoſity they bore to the Catholick Church blinded them, and they aſſiſted the Barons to kindle a Civil War, the Origin of which is ſufficient for me to obſerve to you, without entring upon a Detail of farther Particulars.

Presbyterians reſtore the King.

The Presbyterians at laſt having ſuffered by the Independents, as well as by the Conformiſts, (for ſo they call thoſe who were inclined to receive the Liturgy,) had good Grounds to ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure, and to Conform themſelves to the Thoughts of the Archbiſhop, his Prime Miniſter: In ſhort, the Presbyterians were the People that reſtored the King to his Throne, and this is the Reaſon of their railing at preſent againſt him, now they are Perſecuted by the Laws, or ra-

ther curbed by a timous Remedy provided againſt the pernicious Inconveniences, which, the Toleration they enjoyed, had produced: It's moſt certain they are of a Republican Spirit, and that according to the Rules of Policy, the Epiſcopal Government of the Church, as bad as 'tis, is better for the King than that of the Presbyterians. For the Hierarchy inſpires People with Reſpect to thoſe who are Supream over them, and is a Support to the Monarchy.

I know very well that you expect I ſhould upon this Occaſion give you an Account of the People called Quakers, and of all the other Sorts of Sectaries ſaid to be in *England*; but they are not perhaps ſo many, nor ſuch as we may imagin, or ſome have writ of; and indeed I have found my ſelf formerly miſtaken herein, when I thought to have met an Hundred Sort of Anabaptiſts or Viſionaries in *Holland*; I mean ſo many Bodies or Societies living under ſome particular Diſcipline, and deſigning ſome Sort of Regularity in their Ways. I have found People every where making Profeſſion of extraordinary Zeal, or diſtinguiſhing themſelves from others, in order to be taken notice of upon the Account of their ſingular Opinions. And the Diſputes which for a long time have been Rife in *France*, about a Thing of Nothing, as whether the Five Propoſitions of *Janſenius* are to be found in the Scripture or not, ſhews us plainly that we our ſelves are ſubject to Extravagances, Ambition, or Opinionativeneſs. But to ſpeak the Truth, there never was but Two Sorts of Religions in *England* that were publickly exerciſed, and they are the Epiſcopal and Presbyterian; the laſt of which is degenerated into Arminianiſm, Socinianiſm, and Menoniſm. But there are ſeveral

Sub-

Subdiviſions into other Sects, all which endeavoured to unite into One Body in the Time of the Civil War, under the Name of Independents. This Sort of Jumbling or Incorporation was ſuch, that nothing could be thought of that would ſuit ſo well with *Cromwell*'s Deſigns; and the Independents were a Sort of People who gave a Looſe to their Thoughts, would depend upon the Authority of no Synod, or other Political Order, but would have every thing that concerned the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church to be managed and regulated by Private Aſſemblies: Tho' this could never be effected, for there never was any Church or viſible Society that could be called Independent; it was only the Fabrick of Private Men, who from time to time found ſome Materials towards it. There was indeed a certain Vintner in *Cheapſide*, who went twice or thrice a Week to the Parliament-Houſe, and committed ſome Extravagancies; and *London* has afforded a ſmall Company of Fanaticks, who run up and down the Streets, to excite the People to Rebellion; but no Body followed them, and they were ſoon quelled: Several of them have been taken; and every Body knows the Treatment of *James Naylor*, who was another *John* of *Leyden*, but more Innocent than that Maſter Taylor, whoſe Skeleton is ſtill to be ſeen at *Munſter*: As to the Conduct of the Biſhops here, in reſpect to the Temporalities, we are not to forget that theſe good Prelates behave themſelves in ſo odious a manner as in Time may occaſion Diſorder and Trouble; for a Perſon being promoted to a Biſhoprick in his advanced Years, (as I have known ſome at the Age of Seventy) that he may raiſe a good Sum of Money for the Advancement of his Family, he Leaſes out his Revenue for Thirty Years,

Independents.

Simony.

Years, letting the ſame for leſs than half of what 'tis worth, and reſerving only ſome ſmall Acknowledgment, and by this Means receives in a manner at once all the Income they ſhould have had in that Time, if they had granted Leaſes without Fraud, that is, without any Diminution of the juſt Revenue: So that his Succeſſor, if the Biſhop dies Three Days after, is obliged to live Thirty Years upon One Half only of the Revenue, which was not put into the Pocket of the deceaſed's Relations. But how can this be avoided in a Country where they laugh at Prohibiting of Prieſts to Marry, and where they are not afraid of Simony.

Condition of the Roman Catholicks.

This is, Sir, all I can ſay to you in reference to the many Religions *England* is peſter'd with; for as to the Condition of the *Roman* Catholicks, they continue to be oppreſſed here, and I can ſee no likelihood of their being reſtor'd again. The Foreign Romaniſts are more zealous than the Natives, tho' not more numerous, the latter being Born under Servitude, and uſed to the Want of our Ceremonies; they have never ſeen the Churches open for them; they are ſubject to ſome Inſults, but bating that, live eaſily enough, ſo that they neither can nor will hazard any thing to make their Condition better. Nay, they eſteem it to be a Point of Merit to wait with Patience till God does his own Work, delivers them from their Captivity, and reſtores the Church to its Antient Splendour in the Three Kingdoms: But now to the reſt of my Journal, and other leſs Serious Things.

Mr. Hobbs.

As I went over into *England* to viſit my Friends, and the Learned Men in that Nation, and to be farther inſtructed in Matters of Literature, and the Sciences, as well as to ſee the Country, and inform my

my ſelf as to other Things that ſhould occur to me; the firſt thing I did, as ſoon as I came to *London*, was to ſeek out Mr. *Hobbs*, and Mr. *Montconis*, the better to ſatisfie my Curioſity: I found the firſt of them much the ſame Man as I had ſeen him 14 Years before, and even in the ſame Poſture in his Chamber as he was wont to be every Afternoon, wherein he betook himſelf to his Studies, after he had been walking about all the Morning. This he did for his Health, of which he ought to have the greateſt Regard, he being at this Time 78 Years of Age. Beſides which, he plays ſo long at Tennis once a Week till he is quite tired. I found very little Alteration in his Face, and none at all in the Vigour of his Mind, Strength of Memory, and Cheerfulneſs of Spirit; all which he perfectly retain'd. As for Mr. *Montconis*, I found him in his Element, full of the Converſation of Phyſicians, and talking of nothing but Machines, and new Experiments.

Monſ. de Montconis.

He ſhewed me his Journal, which was ſo curious, and wherein he had ſo exactly collected all that he was to deſcribe, and particularly what was done by the Royal-Society, that his Diligence made me more remiſs, in collecting all thoſe Things anew my ſelf. We ſhall one time or other ſee what he has done, and if he will follow my Advice, he will publiſh it with his other Journals of *Egypt*, *Jeruſalem*, and *Conſtantinople*, which I have ſo often preſſed him to do. He mentions ſeveral new Inventions, which ſcarce can be believed, without we had ſeen them experimented; particularly an Inſtrument which of itſelf ſhews all the Alterations of the Weather that ſhall happen in the Space of 24 Hours, whether Wind, Rain, Cold, or Heat, which

New Inventions.

which is done by the Help of a Pendulum Clock, a Thermometer, a Compaſs, and a Weather-Cock, which makes a Rule go with a Crayon. Dr. *Willis*, I found, had a Way to make a Piece of Iron, moderately heated, to calcine, without the Help of any other Corroſive, and the ſame being put into Water, to melt. I was informed that Dr. *Wallis* had brought a Perſon that was Born Deaf and Dumb to Read at *Oxford*, by teaching him ſeveral Inflexions fitted to the Organs of his Voice, to make it articulate: They had alſo found out a Way to Blow up Ships with a Petard in the Water, and to join ſeveral ſhort Boards one to another, without any thing underneath to ſupport them, which are neither nailed nor jointed, ſo that you may make as large a Floor as you will. The Furnace of M. *Kuffler*, *de Drebbel*'s Son-in-law, whom I ſaw formerly at the *Hague*, and who had ſo much Succeſs in the Dying of Scarlet at *Arnheim*, is remarkable, becauſe it opens and ſhuts of it ſelf, as there is Occaſion for more or leſs Heat: So is an Oven, which for Five Penniworth of Wood ſhall Bake a vaſt Quantity of Bread, without burning it. You have alſo Salt Water diſtilled, ſo as to make it drinkable; Five Peniworth of which ſhall ſerve a Hundred Perſons. They have an Inſtrument, by which a Man that has never learnt, may Deſign and Draw all Sorts of Objects; and that is done by obſerving through a Quill the Head of a Pin fixed to the End of a Rule, which is convey'd through all the Lineaments of the Object, while the Rule, that moves equally with it, by the Help of a Lead, makes the ſame Way with One of its End as the Pin does with the other, and this impreſſes upon Paper with a Pencil all the Lines you

you have a Mind to Draw: One of the moſt Curious Things I had a Mind to ſee, was a Water-Engine, invented by the Marquiſs of *Worceſter*, of which he had made an Experiment. I went on Purpoſe to ſee it at *Fox-Hall*, on the other Side of the *Thames*, a little above *Lambeth*, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*'s Palace, ſtanding in Sight of *London*. One Man, by the Help of this Machine, raiſed Four large Buckets full of Water in an Inſtant, Forty Foot high, and that through a Pipe of about Eight Inches long; which Invention will be of greater Uſe to the Publick, than that very Ingenious Machine, already made uſe of, and raiſed upon Wooden Work above *Somerſet-Houſe*, that ſupplies Part of the Town with Water, but with great Difficulty, and in leſs Quantity than could be wiſhed. This is almoſt like unto that we call our *Samaritan* at the *Pontneuf* of *Paris*; and ſome Impulſe is added to the aſpiring Pump, or that which draws up Water by Attraction, which increaſes the Force of it. But that which is done with us by the Current of the *Siene* is effected by them with a Horſe or Two, that turns the Machine round continually: Becauſe the Tide alters the Courſe of the *Thames* twice a-day; and the Wheels which ſerve at the Tide of Ebb will not do when the Water flows. It was in Company with Monſ. *Montconis* that I made my firſt Viſit to Sir *Robert Murray*, and Monſ. *Oldenburg*: I did not want an Excuſe for viſiting them, and I found they were not Strangers to my Name. I had writ to the firſt of theſe Gentlemen about Two Years before, when he was Preſident of the Society, and it was by the Order of Monſ. *Montmor*, that I had a Letter of Civility ſent me, upon the Account of a Meeting held at his Houſe, tho' at a

Curious and Learned Perſons.

Sir R. Murray.

time

time when ſome Domeſtick Affliction would not allow him to make me an Anſwer according to his Deſire: I had ſeen the other ſeveral times at *Paris*, in my own Houſe, and in the Meeting held at Monſ. *Montmor*'s, where he conſtantly attended with the Lord *Ranelagh*, Mr. *Boyle*'s Nephew, who was under his Tuition: This Curious *German* having well improved himſelf by his Travels, and purſuant to the Advice of *Montagne*, rubbed his Brains againſt thoſe of other People, was upon his Return into *England* entertained as a Perſon of great Merit, and ſo made Secretary to the Royal Society; and Sir *Robert Murray* was one of the Zealous Promoters of him. It was a wonderful, or rather a very edifying Thing, to find a Perſon imploy'd in Matters of State, and of ſuch Excellent Merit, and one who had been engaged a great Part of his Life in Warlike Commands, and the Affairs of the Cabinet, apply himſelf in making Machines in St. *James*'s *Park*, and adjuſting Teleſcopes. All this we have ſeen him do with great Application, and undoubtedly to the Confuſion of moſt of the Courtiers, who never mind the Stars, and think it a Diſhonour to concern themſelves with any thing, but inventing of new Faſhions: Wherefore, Sir, I beheld with Aſtoniſhment the Eagerneſs with which this Learned *Scotchman* advanced the Knowledge of Nature, and the Conveniencies of Life, which might be attained to from this Science of Mechaniſm: It's certain that the Familiarity wherewith he treated me, made me entertain a far greater Reſpect for him, than otherwiſe I ſhould have done, had he been always upon the Reſerve, and made it his Buſineſs to conceal his Ignorance, under the Mask of Gravity. I made him

him frequent Viſits very much to my Satisfaction; having never had the Honour to ſee him, but I learnt ſomething of him. He was ſo kind as to introduce me to Prince *Rupert*, who is of the ſame Frank Temper, Kind, Modeſt, very Curious, and takes no State upon him: Tho' his Birth, Excellent Genius, and Illuſtrious Actions, both by Sea and Land, by which he is become one of the greateſt Heroes of the Age, might juſtly have made him more Haughty, and to keep himſelf at a greater Diſtance. Sir *Robert Murray* brought me likewiſe into the King's Preſence, who is a Lover of the Curioſities of Art and Nature: He took the Pains to bring me into the Royal-Society, and had the Goodneſs almoſt every time, that I attended there, to ſeat me next himſelf, that ſo he might interpret to me whatever was ſaid in *Engliſh*. I remember the firſt time that I was there, a Country Gentleman made a very handſome Diſcourſe concerning the Diſeaſes of Corn, and recounted about an Hundred Curious Obſervations he had made upon the Seed before it was ſown, upon the Plant before it was reaped, and upon the Ear till reduced to Meal: He ſpoke of a certain Grain of a vaſt Bigneſs, that ſuddenly ſprouted out into Ear, like an Excreſcence, and is a Sort of Poiſon, which might cauſe Epidemical Diſtempers, of which we are not yet aware. But ſeeing we are now come to the Royal-Society, it's proper we ſhould ſay ſomething of it, till ſuch time as we have the Hiſtory of its Foundation for our fuller Information, of which we have ſome Expectation.

Prince Rupert.

Royal-Society.

England in all Times has produced excellent Genius's, who have delighted in the Study of Nature; and tho' there had been no other than

Engliſh Phyſicians.

Gilbert,

Gilbert, *Harvey*, and *Bacon*, that had apply'd themſelves to this Science, this Country might diſpute for Precedency with *France* and *Italy*, who Glory in their *Galileus*, *Deſcartes*, and *Gaſſendus*. But to ſpeak the Truth, the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* has ſurpaſſed all the reſt in the Vaſtneſs of his Deſigns, and that Learned and Judicious Tablature he has left us, uſefully to reduce the Knowledge we have in Natural Things into Practice, without being incommoded with the Diſputes of the Schools, to the End we may apply them to Mechaniſm, and reſolve the Difficulties that occur to us in our Lives: This undoubtedly is the greateſt Man for the Intereſt of Natural Philoſophy that ever was, and the Perſon that firſt put the World upon making Experiments that Way. But as this is not the Buſineſs of private Men, who will but undo themſelves by it, we muſt wait for ſuch a Conjuncture, wherein Princes and Great Men will engage in the Purſuit of ſuch Curioſities.

Perſons of Quality Curious.

Wherefore it came to paſs in the Civil War, which terminated in the Ruin of the late King, and the long Eclipſe of the Monarchy, from which the Three Kingdoms are at this Day happily freed, that Perſons of Quality having no Court to make, apply'd themſelves to their Studies; ſome turning their Heads to Chymiſtry, others to Mechaniſm, Mathematicks, or Natural Philoſophy; the King himſelf has been ſo far from being neglectful of theſe things, that he has attained to ſo much Knowledge, as made me aſtoniſhed, when I had Audience of his Majeſty, of which I ſhall give you all the Particulars: Thoſe ſame Perſons who had found their Account in their reſpective Studies, would not, after the King's Return from ſo tedious an Exile, and the Settlement of a firm Peace,

The King himſelf Curious.

Peace, be guilty of ſo much Ingratitude, as to leave them, and take upon them an Idle Court-Life; but they choſe rather to interſperſe theſe Sorts of Entertainments with their other Diverſions, than to return to their former neglect of them, and ſo the Lords *Digby*, *Boyle*, *Bronker*, *Murray*, *Devonſhire*, *Worceſter*, and divers others (for the *Engliſh* Nobility are all of them Learned and Polite) Built Elaboratories, made Machines, opened Mines, and made uſe of an Hundred Sorts of Artiſts, to find out ſome new Invention or other. The King himſelf is not devoid of this Curioſity; nay, he has cauſed a Famous Chymiſt to be brought over from *Paris*, for whom he has Built a very Fine Elaboratory in St. *James*'s-*Park*: But his Majeſty more particularly takes great Delight in finding out uſeful Experiments in Navigation, wherein he has immenſe Knowledge. He ordered my Lord *Bronker*, while I was at *London*, to try ſome ſort of Timber, and what Form could ſwim beſt on the Water, or eaſieſt ſink; upon which Occaſion I heard them diſcourſe of a Ship with Two Keels, that carried Two Foremaſts, and having Two Sails, drew more Wind, but leſs Water, and conſequently muſt Sail faſter than others. I do not know whether the Project took Effect; but this in general is very true, that the King's Curioſity, and that of the Nobility, has deeply engaged them in the Purſuit of Natural Philoſophy: Since his Majeſty has readily given Ear to the Propoſals made to him for erecting an Academy, of which there never was the like in the World, if the Project comes to be entirely put in Execution. What has been already done deſerves to be univerſally approved; what ſome of this Learned Society have already performed fills us with great Expectations; and I ſhould ſur-

prize you ſhou'd I but partly give you an Account of the Curious Things which the Immortal Works of Mr. *Boyl*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Charleton*, and *Gliſſonius*, contain: The Firſt has invented a *Pneumatick* Engine, with which he has tried a World of Experiments, that point out to us the Influence which the Rarefaction and Compreſſion of the Air have upon Bodies, and by this Means we come to know the Cauſe of Rheumatiſms, Contageous Diſtempers, and ſeveral other Indiſpoſitions and *Phænomena's* in Nature: But 'tis too tedious to enter now upon Particulars, I ſhall reſerve them for our next Winter Entertainment, after I have firſt review'd their deep Notions in my Cloſet, into which I can perhaps give ſome farther Light, when I ſhall have reaſoned and pondered upon them at my Leiſure. The *Engliſh* Phyſicians have bethought themſelves of a Method to make Aſtronomical Tables, whereby to know the true *Meridians* of the Earth, by obſerving the Eclipſes of the *Satelites* of *Jupiter*; and as it frequently and almoſt daily comes to paſs, the different Hour, wherein you obſerve them in divers Places, as they move from the Weſt to Eaſt, will point out to you the Difference of the *Meridians*: Theſe Excellent Perſons have Noble Thoughts, and put the ſame very Artfully in Execution; witneſs a Lunar Globe, upon which the Eminencies are repreſented in their due Proportion, which I ſaw in the King's Cloſet. His Majeſty put me upon admiring it, and was pleaſed to tell me, that the Author had obſerved that Star, ſpoken of by *Hevelius*, which is in the Whale, and which appears and diſappears every Four Months, removing in diſtance from the Earth, as upon a ſtraight Line, without drawing nearer in Appearance to any Neighbouring Star;

the

the Increaſe and Diminution of it in Bulk being a manifeſt Proof of its drawing nearer, and at other times removing farther off from us. The King finding me very intent in obſerving every thing that occurred, had the Goodneſs to ſhew me the Dimenſions ſent him of a *Scotch* Child of Two Years of Age, and he was pleaſed to give way to my Curioſity in ſetting down ſuch and ſuch certain Dimenſions in my Table Book, which his Majeſty had taken the Pains to meaſure himſelf, according to the *Engliſh* Foot, that is leſs than the *French* one. The Wriſt was Six Inches and Three Quarters long, the Jaw Eight Inches and a half, the Arm above the Elbow Six and Three Quarters, the thickeſt Part of the Leg Eleven and Three Quarters, the Neck Fifteen and a Quarter, the Thigh Nineteen and about an Eighth Part, the Body from the Armpits downwards Nine and Twenty Inches and Three Quarters, the Body was Thirty-two Inches thick, and this Infant was Thirty-ſeven Inches and Three quarters long.

Particulars concerning the Royal-Society.

The Royal-Society of *London* is Founded by the King's Letters Patent, who gave them *Greſham Colledge*, (Built by a Merchant of that Name in *Biſhopſgate Street*) where they meet every *Wedneſday*: I do not know whether there is any Revenue yet ſettled for the Maintenance of thoſe Perſons who manage the Machines, and for an Uſher or Beadle, who goes before the Preſident with a Mace, which he lays down on the Table, when the Society have taken their Places: But I have been informed, that they afterwards ſettled a Fund of Four Thouſand Livres for the Maintenance of Two Learned Men in the Colledge, whoſe Buſineſs it was to give the Society an Account of what was contained in thoſe Books they

would have Read by them, and to this End they have already begun a Library adjoining to a Gallery, through which they go out of the Hall, where the Society meets: As you have on the other Side, and before the ſame Hall a very handſome Antichamber, and Two more, in One of which the Council is held; without reckoning the Lodgings appointed for the Two Profeſſors, who out of Ancient Authors Collect Natural and Mechanical Experiments, which are examined in order to aſcertain the Truth or Falſhood of them to Poſterity, whilſt they in like manner make new ones of their own. The Room where the Society meets is large, and Wainſcotted; there is a large Table before the Chimney, with Seven or Eight Chairs covered with Green-cloth about it, and Two Rows of Wooden and Naked Benches to lean on, the Firſt being higher than the other, in form like an Amphitheatre. The Preſident and Council are Elective; they mind no Precedency in the Society, but the Preſident ſits at the middle of the Table in an Elbow Chair, with his Back to the Chimney. The Secretary ſits at the End of the Table on his left Hand, and they have each of them Pen, Ink and Paper before them: I ſaw no Body ſit on the Chairs, I think they are reſerved for Perſons of Great Quality, or thoſe who have occaſion to draw near to the Preſident. All the other Members take their Places as they think fit, and without any Ceremony; and if any one comes in after the Society is fixed, no Body ſtirs, but he takes a Place preſently where he can find it, that ſo no Interruption may be given to him that ſpeaks. The Preſident has a little Wooden Mace in his Hand, with which he ſtrikes the Table when he would command Silence: They addreſs their Diſcourſe to him bare-headed, till he

he makes a Sign for them to put on their Hats; and there is a Relation given in a few Words of what is thought proper to be ſaid concerning the Experiments propoſed by the Secretary. There is no body here eager to ſpeak, that makes a long Harangue, or intent upon ſaying all he knows: He is never interrupted that ſpeaks, and Differences of Opinion cauſe no manner of Reſentment, nor as much as a diſobliging Way of Speech: There is nothing ſeemed to me to be more civil, reſpectful, and better managed than this Meeting; and if there are any private Diſcourſes held between any while a Member is ſpeaking, they only whiſper, and the leaſt Sign from the Preſident cauſes a ſudden ſtop, tho' they have not told their Mind out. I took ſpecial notice of this Conduct, in a Body conſiſting of ſo many Perſons, and of ſuch different Nations: For they admit them all into their Society; and lay no other Obligation upon them than to Sign an Inſtrument, by which they promiſe to obſerve the Statutes of the Society; to be preſent as often as they can at their Meetings, and eſpecially thoſe wherein they chuſe Officers; to do or ſay nothing that may injure the Society; to honour and promote all they can the Intereſt of the ſame, as long as they are willing to continue Members of it; and ſuch they are reputed to be till they have made a Renunciation of their Title in Writing. They did me the Honour to admit me to take that Oath, and I very readily ſigned the Inſtrument, at the ſame time that another was prepared for the King, by which his Majeſty promiſed to Protect the Society, of which he called himſelf the Founder. I have pointed out to you, Sir, the Diſpoſition of this Society, and you may readily gueſs whether any Scepticks are welcome

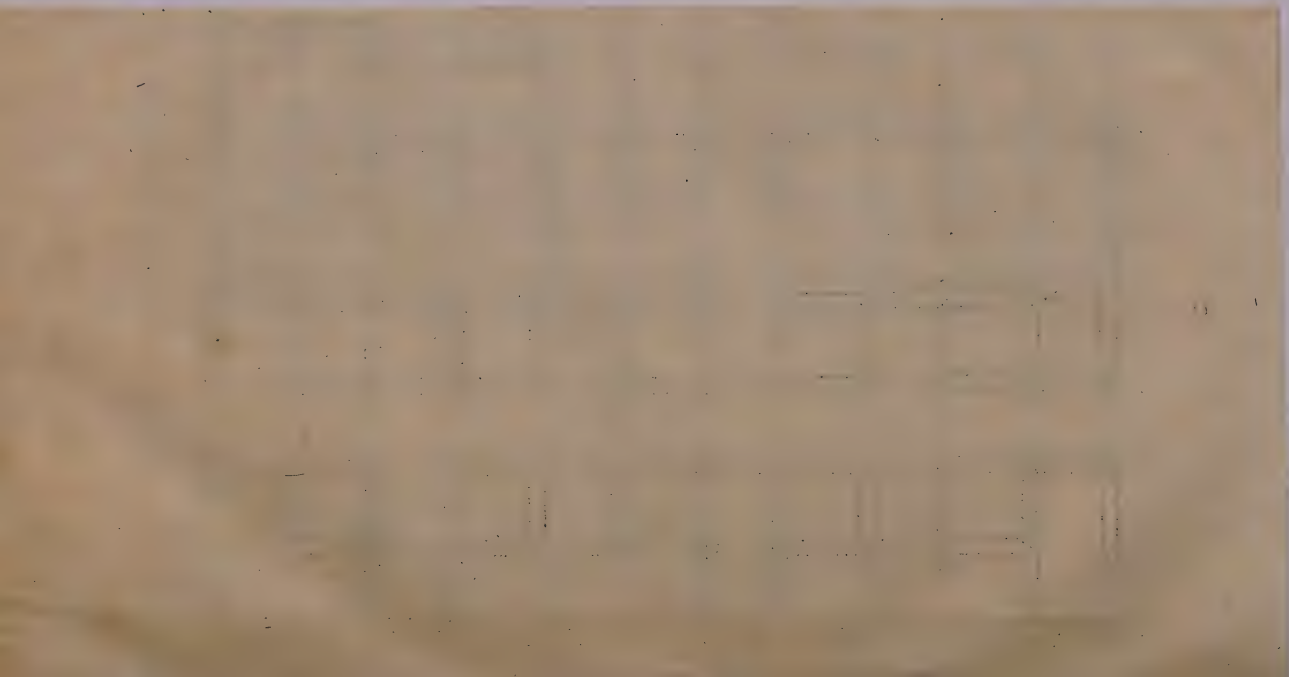
here: Their Arms are a Field Argent, repreſenting a Blank Paper, and their Diſinclination to all Sorts of Prejudices, with this Device, *Nullius in Verba*. In ſhort, it cannot be diſcerned that any Authority prevails here; and whereas thoſe who are meer Mathematicians favour *Deſcartes* more than *Gaſſendus*, the *Literati* on the other Side are more inclined to the latter. But both of them have hitherto demeaned themſelves with ſo much Moderation, that no different Hypotheſis or Principles have been a Means to break in upon the good Harmony of the Society, who know very well they aim at the ſame thing, tho' they purſue it by different Ways, ſeeing they all deſire to have the ſame *Phænomena*'s explained.

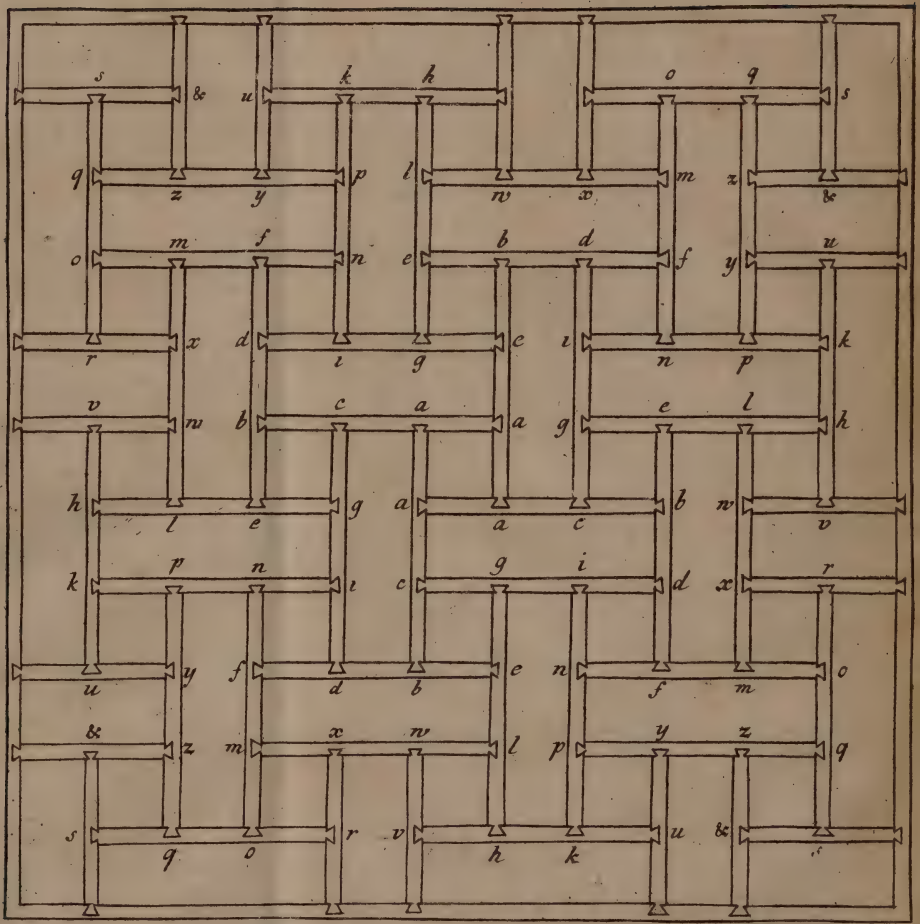
The Learned not Communicative.

I ſhall ſay nothing to you particularly, Sir, of thoſe Excellent Perſons I ſaw in this Aſſembly, becauſe I will not undertake the Work of making Elogies, as I muſt be obliged to do if I ſhould name them. Beſides, I have not had the good Fortune to be more particularly acquainted with them all, nor time to Viſit, and have ſome Converſation with them: I am in a Doubt, if I had attempted it, whether I ſhould have ſucceeded well, becauſe the *Engliſh* live very retiredly, and have little Communication with Strangers: And being averſe to the ſpeaking of *French*, tho' they can do it very well, they ſpeak *Latin* with ſuch an Accent and Way of Pronounciation, that they are as hard to be underſtood, as if they ſpoke their own Language: This I ſufficiently experimented in my Journey to *Oxford*, where I was much Edified by the Converſation of Dr. *Wallis*, and Dr. *Willis*, the firſt being Profeſſor of Mathematicks, as the other was of Phyſick, and both, amidſt a Multitude of other Learned Perſons, the moſt

It's hard to underſtand their pronouncing Latin.

Journey to Oxford.




s & u k h o q s
q z y p l v x m z &
o m f n e b d f y u
r x d ı g e ı n p k
v w b c a a g e l h
h l e g a a c b w v
k p n ı c g i d x r
u y f d b e n f m o
& z m x v l p y z q
s q o r v h k u & c

moſt Famous of any in this Univerſity. However, I was mightily pleaſed with the Experiments I ſaw made by the firſt of theſe Gentlemen, which was to teach a Deaf Man, who was Dumb, by reaſon of Deafneſs, to Read: The other was the Model of a Floor, that could bear a great Weight, and make a very large Hall, tho' it conſiſted only of ſeveral ſhort Pieces of Timber joined together, without any Mortiſes, Nails, and Pins, or any other Support than what they gave one another; for the Weight they bear cloſes them ſo together, as if they were but one Board, and the Floor all of a piece: I will ſhew you a Cut of it, and you cannot but admire the Invention of this Mathematician; and indeed I made Mr. *Hobbs* himſelf even admire it, tho' he is at no good Terms with Dr. *Wallis*, and has no reaſon to love him. For I muſt tell you by the by, that the Doctor has not uſed him well; ſeeing after he had, purſuant to the Way of Learned Men, who make themſelves ridiculous to Courtiers by their Controverſies and Malignity, endeavoured to refute Mr. *Hobbs*'s Mathematicks, he fell upon his Scheme of Politicks, and puſhed the Matter ſo far, as to make him a bad Subject; which very much provoked the good Old Man, who in the beginning of the Civil War had ſuffered for the Royal Cauſe, and never wrote any thing, either upon that Occaſion, or concerning any Publick Affairs, but what might bear a favourable Interpretation. And indeed the King was ſo far from laying any Streſs upon Dr. *Wallis*'s Arguments, that to Solace the Old Gentleman, he gave him a Yearly Penſion of a Hundred *Jacobus*'s. His Majeſty ſhewed me a Copper Cut of his Picture in his Cloſet of Natural and Mechanical Curioſities, and ask'd me if I knew the

Two Fine Experiments.

Diſputes between the Learned.

K. kind to Mr. Hobbs.

Face? And what Opinion I had of him? I told him what I thought beſt and moſt proper; and 'tis agreed on all Hands, that if Mr. *Hobbs* were not ſo very Dogmatical, he would be very Uſeful and Neceſſary to the Royal-Society; for there are few People that can ſee farther into things than he, or have applied themſelves ſo long to the Study of Natural Philoſophy: He is upon the Matter the very Remains of *Bacon*, to whom he was *Amanuenſis* in his Youth; and by what I could hear of him, or obſerve by his Stile, he hath retained very much of him; he has ſtudied his manner of turning Things, and readily runs his Diſcourſe into *Allegory*; but he has naturally much of his good Humour, and agreeable Mien. I know not how it comes paſs, the Clergy are afraid of him, and ſo are the *Oxford* Mathematicians, and their Adherents; wherefore his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a very good Compariſon, when he told me he was like a Bear, whom they baited with Dogs to try him. He has in his Grounds of Politicks, undoubtedly, very much obliged Crowned Heads; and if he had not fallen upon Points of Religion, or contented himſelf to write againſt the Presbyterians, and the pretended Biſhops of his Country, I ſhould have no Room to find any fault with him. But his Philoſophy having had its Birth and Education in Hereſie, he is a Stranger to Juſt Principles, in this reſpect, and has not as right an Idea as he ought to have of the Hierarchy: He has no Knowledge of the Catholick Church, but what he had learnt from Proteſtant Books of Controverſie, which entertain'd him with a horrible Repreſentation of it: And tho' he travelled to *Rome* in his younger Years, he had firſt read the Myſtery of Iniquity in

in *Francee:* Let us, if it be poſſible, pardon the Misfortune of his Birth and Bad Education, upon the Account of his Excellent Accompliſhments otherways, and let us pray God to be merciful to him: For if the Reaſons given in his *Leviathan* againſt the *Academians* and *Eccleſiaſticks* could but extirpate thoſe of his own Sect, and gnaw off the Gangreen of the Church, they might ſerve for a Sovereign Remedy to a Civil Society in the Northern Parts of the Chriſtian World. But let us return to his Adverſary: The Doctor has leſs in him of the Gallant Man than Mr. *Hobbs*; and if you ſhould ſee him with his Univerſity Cap on his Head, as if he had a *Portefeuille* on, covered with Black Cloth, and ſowed to his Calot, you would be as much inclined to laugh at this diverting Sight, as you would be ready to entertain the Excellency and Civility of my Friend with Eſteem and Affection. What I have ſaid concerning Dr. *Wallis* is not intended in the leaſt to derogate from the Praiſes due to one of the greateſt Mathematicians in the World; and who being yet no more than Forty Years of Age, may advance his Studies much farther, and become Polite, if purified by the Air of the Court at *London:* For I muſt tell you, Sir, that that of the Univerſity ſtands in need of it; and that thoſe who are not purified otherways, have naturally ſtrong Breaths, that are noxious in Converſation. This I plainly diſcerned by having an Opportunity to compare this Subtle and Learned Profeſſor, with Mr. *Lockey*, the *Oxford* Librarian, who had learnt at Court and in *France* to put on an obliging Air, and courteous Behaviour. He had the Goodneſs, not only to conduct me to the Library, but all the Colledges, and to introduce me

Mr. Lockey.

Univerſity of Oxford.

to

to all the Profeſſors I viſited: I lodged in *Chriſt-Church*, which is the largeſt and richeſt Colledge of them all, its Income being 70000 Livres a Year: Cardinal *Wolſey* Built it in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. of whom he was ſuch a Favourite, that that Prince Built *Hampton-Court* for him, which is now a Royal Palace, Twelve Miles from *London:* There are Seventeen or Eighteen Colledges at *Oxford*, which are almoſt all of the ſame Dimenſions: They are Built of Free-Stone; the meaneſt of them is not Inferior to the *Sorbonne*, for there are ſome of them that do excel it. The lower Court of *Chriſt-Church Colledge* is little leſs than that which is contained within the Barriers of the *Place-Royale:* There is a Phyſick-Garden over-againſt St. *Catherine's*, towards the Gate that leads to *London*, which is ſmall, ill kept, and more like an Orchard than a Garden. I ſhall not take upon me to deſcribe all the Colledges to you: There is one, at whoſe Gate I ſaw a great Brazen Noſe, like *Punchinello*'s Vizard: I was told they alſo call it *Brazen-Noſe Colledge*, and that *John Dunſcotus* taught here, in Remembrance of which they ſet up the Sign of his Noſe at the Gate. The laſt Colledge I viſited was St. *John*'s, which is the moſt Regular Building of any of them, tho' not the Richeſt: It has Two Square Courts, as large as the Square we now have in the *Louvre*; and Two large Buildings Three Story high, with Four Wings of the ſame height: I ſaw a Fine Library in one of them, and a large Wainſcotted Gallery, wherein I found no other Ornament than the Picture of King *Charles* I. which they took out of a Cover, and and ſhewed here for a Rarity, becauſe the Hair of his Head was made up of Scripture Lines, wrought

wrought wonderfully ſmall, and more particularly of the Pſalms of *David* in *Latin*. This Prince, and the Queen Mother's Statues in Braſs, ſtand in the Second Court upon the Two Gates; and the Two late Archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, who were Benefactors to this Colledge, are Buried in the Chapel: There are Two large Gardens belonging to this Colledge, one of which is terraſſed, and the other faces a Plain to the Northward.

The Famous Library of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, where their Publick Lectures are read, requires we ſhould dwell a long while upon it; but I had only a Tranſient View of it: It's made in the form of an *H*, has Two Stories of Books: The lowermoſt has Six Rows of *Folio*'s, and Three of *Quarto*'s: In the other, to which you go up by wooden Stairs, very artfully contrived for to give Light in the Middle, and at the Four Corners, there are Nine Rows more, whereof Three in *Folio*'s, and the reſt of different Volumes: Thoſe of *Selden* are on one Side, together with the Manuſcripts given to the Library by the late Archbiſhop *Laud*, being Two Thouſand Four Hundred in Number: We took a Walk in the Galleries above the Library, and ſaw a great Number of Medals there; and there are the Pictures of ſome learned Men round the Galleries, where they ſhewed us the Sword which the Pope ſent *Henry* VIII. as Defender of the Faith: Here is a Place of Anatomy not worth ſeeing: The Schools were all of them ſhut up; and there are ſcarce any Lectures read there, becauſe the private ones draw all the Scholars thither. Oxford Library.

Oxford City would be nothing without the Colledges; for there are ſcarce any more Inhabitants in it than are enough to ſerve Three or Four Oxford.

Four Thouſand Students, and to cultivate a very delightful Plain, where the City ſtands upon a ſmall River, abounding with Fiſh, which falls near it into the *Thames*. We were Two Days in going by the Stage Coach to *Oxford*, thro' a Fine Country, where we were delighted with the Sight of *Uxbridge*, *Beconsfields*, *High Wickam*, and *Weſt Wickam*, which they call Towns, tho' they are in ſtrictneſs no more than large unwalled Boroughs. They frightned us with the Danger of Highway-men on the Road, which I thought they did out of Vanity, and to the end that *Paris* might have nothing to upbraid *London* with: But I am ſatisfied ſome of them appeared in Reality now and then. It's certain there are good Regulations made in this Country; and when any Robbery is committed, the Country People preſently take the Alarm, and purſue ſo hard, that the Highway-men very ſeldom can make their Eſcape.

Return to London. I apply'd my ſelf anew upon my Return to *London* to make all the Obſervations I could, and exactly to note every thing which I could not ſee or know any otherwiſe than by the Information of others. I more narrowly obſerved the Court than before, and had the Honour to wait upon the King, and to be entertained near an Hour in his Cloſet. I was ſeveral times at *Weſtminſter*, where the Parliament Sits. I ſaw all the Courts of Juſtice. I went into ſeveral Sorts of Companies, was often upon the Walks, went to Gentlemens Country-houſes, and forgot nothing that was feaſible, in order to make my ſelf acquainted with the Government, Manners, and Genius of the People; and this I am ſure is what your Curioſity expects from me: But I cannot

not think I ſhall be able to anſwer your Deſires. My ſhort Stay in *England*, and Ignorance of the Language, perhaps have been a Barr to my making a right Judgment of things: For tho' I have converſed with ſome of the genteeleſt and moſt polite People in the Kingdom, have ſeen *White-Hall* and *Weſtminſter*, the Court of Parliament, ſome of the greateſt Lords, and ſome Citizens, Things ſerious and pleaſant, Buſineſs and Divertion, the *Exchange*, *Spring-Garden*, *Hide-Park*, St. *James*'s, and the *Play-houſe*, *Greſham-Colledge*, the *Temple*, and St. *Paul*'s, that is, the Learned in all Faculties, I cannot think that is enough to make one believe that I have penetrated into the Depth of things, and that I can thoroughly know a Nation, which, under the Roſe, is of a very Irregular and Fantaſtick Temper. Wherefore I ſhall relate unto you thoſe things which appeared unto me to be ſo, and not perhaps what really and in truth they are: For there is a vaſt difference between the Idea's we conceive of a Country at firſt View, and thoſe which are formed in Time, when we come to correct the firſt Draught. Neither do I pretend to make Uſe of the ſame Pencil to repreſent unto you a great Number of Excellent Perſons whom I admired in this Country, and the Sceach I have made of others, reaches no farther than to thoſe who remain *in puris Naturalibus*, and have not either by Study, Reaſoning, or other Acquirements in Foreign Countries, Poliſhed the natural Roughneſs incident to them in their own.

I am very ready to excuſe the Roughneſs of a People who live in ſo Fine a Country, who cultivate a Soil that yields them Plenty of all Neceſſaries for Human Life; who want neither Iron, *The Goodneſs of the Country makes the People haughty.*

Iron, Stone, Lead, Tin, Coal, Lime, Wood, Corn, Pulſe, Paſturage, Beef, Mutton, Horſes, Goats, Meadows, Fountains, Rivers; in ſhort, no Sorts of Beauties nor Induſtry, to manage all theſe Rich Gifts of Nature: A People, I ſay, who, beſides all theſe Conveniencies, find themſelves ſurrounded by the Sea, which is a Fence to ſecure them from other Nations that would diſturb their Tranquility; and who, with all this, and by ranging themſelves under the Notion of a diſtinct Empire, have retain'd a great deal of that Humour which is naturally Predominant in the Minds of thoſe who are in a State of Liberty. I find 'tis natural enough for People that have ſo good a ſhare, to deſpiſe all the reſt of Mankind, and to count thoſe miſerable that Border upon them, and come out of a Country where the *Engliſh* fancy they have not all theſe Conveniences: Hence ariſes that careleſs Air wherewith they look upon Strangers, or make Anſwer to them; and ſince the Common People and Meaneſt Tradeſmen are wont to uſe this Sort of Haughtineſs and Indifferency towards Strangers, let them endeavour to prevent them as much as they can by their Civilities, and exert all the Gentle and Reſpectful Conduct imaginable towards them, all ſignifies nothing: Nay, ſometimes their Complaiſance, as well as their Silence and Serioufneſs, offends them; for as they are very ſuſpicious, and full of hollow-heartedneſs, they draw what dangerous Conſequences they pleaſe from your Silence and Compliments; ſo that 'tis very hard to gueſs the Way to obtain their Goodwill. They are equally apt to be offended either Way; and the Methods by which we gain their Eſteem one Day, will bring us to loſe it the next; ſo very much does the ſame depend upon their

their Capricious and Melancholy Temper, which is ſo peculiar to them.

My frequent Attendance in the Royal-Society did not give me an Opportunity to ſee Mr. *Boyle*, who, to my Misfortune, was not in *London* all the time I ſtaid there. But I have ſeen ſeveral Experiments made with his *Pheumatick* Machine: The Invention of which will in all Appearance be aſcrib'd to him by Poſterity, as the bringing of it to Perfection will be to Mr. *Chriſtian Hugens*: A World of things will undoubtedly be diſcovered by it; and ſome of the Experiments made with it, ſhew unto us the Diſtempers occaſioned by the Air. I have ſeen ſeveral Rarefactions and Condenſations made by it; and no Endeavours were wanting to obſerve what befel thoſe Animals which were expoſed to the Influence of it: This will one time or other be the Subject of a Set Converſation, with which we may divert our ſelves, in Caſe we ſhould ſpend Part of the next Spring at *Phillipville*. *The Pheumatick Machine of Mr.* Boyle.

I am firmly of the Opinion, Sir, that if the Project of the Royal-Society be not ſome Way or other blaſted, (as I hope it never will, by reaſon of the Quality and Merit of thoſe Perſons who are Members of it, and the Care his Majeſty has taken about it,) we ſhall find a World of People fall into an Admiration of ſo Excellent and Learned a Body, and *England* will afford a vaſt many uſeful Inventions to other Nations: For if Art and Sciences have been already ſo much improved by the Study and Hazards of ſome private Men, what will not the good Conduct of ſo many capable Perſons, the Purſes of ſeveral great Lords, the publick Authority, and the Magnificence of ſo Potent a Monarch, do? His Majeſty has by this made it plainly appear that he knows the true *Advancement of Learning brings Solid Glory to Princes.*

true Way to attain Solid Glory; if we call that Renown, which is of a long Duration, and very extenſive, Solid Glory. Thoſe who ſeek after it, by invading the Poſſeſſions of others, and ill-grounded Wars, or ſuch as in the Conſequence of them, whoſe End do not appear, in my Mind do not make a right Judgment of it: In a Word, Sir, What ſhall we ſay of the Two laſt Kings of *Sweden*, who made ſo much Noiſe in *Poland*, *Denmark* and *Germany*. Their Glory is in a manner quite vaniſhed, and indifferent Perſons cannot Read the Deſolations made by their Armies without Horror. I am free to unboſom all my Thoughts unto you, who is a lover of Juſtice as well as of War: Man was not born to make War upon thoſe of his own Kind, but to enjoy the Sweets of Peace, for otherwiſe God Almighty would have furniſhed him with Claws, Horns, Teeth, and other offenſive Arms.

Os homini ſublime dedit, Cælumq; tueri
Juſſit, & erectos ad ſidera tollere vultus.

And it was only in their own Defence that they have been obliged to invent Machines to fight with. I have read in ſome Book or other, treating of the Affairs of *China*, that the Princes of that vaſt Kingdom did not make their Glory ſo much to conſiſt in commanding Armies, taking Towns, ſacking of Provinces, and winning of Battles, as in the Tranquility of their Dominions, vigour of the Laws, good Regulation of Government, Riches of Trade, Increaſe of Husbandry, Excellency of Manufactures, Improvement of Arts, and in the Care they took of the Publick Good, or Ornament of their Country; inſomuch, that the nobleſt Elogies their Hiſtorians make upon

on them, are that ſuch a Prince was very Dutiful to his Parents; that he always had a very good Correſpondence with all his Relations; that he was an entire Lover of his People; that he was the firſt that brought in ſuch a Cuſtom, that he Built ſuch a Bridge, raiſed ſuch a Way, planted the Rows of Trees between ſuch a Town and ſuch a Town; that ſuch Medicines or ſuch Foods were made uſe of from his time forward: And thus they have their Princes in perpetual Remembrance for to bleſs them, inſtead of calling them to mind by Way of Indignation, as thoſe are who have been the Authors of ſuch and ſuch Devaſtations, whoſe Memories they endeavour to forget.

The Author admitted into the Royal-Society.

But perhaps, Sir, the Reflections I have thus made on the *Chineſe* Hiſtories, in reference to the good Princes *England* has been bleſt with for theſe Hundred Years paſt, and eſpecially that King who now Reigns, have carried me too far: This Prince made great Improvement of his long Adverſity, from which he has drawn all the Concluſions which he ſeems to have taken for ſettling the Peace, Tranquility and Imbelliſhment of his Country upon a Solid Foundation: I ſhall think the Society he has Founded very happy, if they continue, purſuant to their Orders, to go on in perfecting the Arts and uſeful Sciences they have begun to cultivate: And I take it to be an ineſtimable Honour done to me to be admitted a Member of it, and that my weak Productions have been ſo favourably looked on by ſuch clear-ſighted Gentlemen as they are: The King himſelf had the Goodneſs to tell me, that my Works were not diſpleaſing to him: I muſt confeſs to you I was very much affected with his Royal Approbation, and cannot forbear hereby to give

ſome publick Marks of my Acknowledgment: For I find my ſelf as much obliged to his Majeſty for the Gracious Reception he gave me, as if he had laden me with Royal Preſents; and I ſhall never forget that Sweetneſs and Affability with which he did me the favour to let me admire the Rarities in his Cloſet.

The Court of England and Nobility.

As the Court of *England* is not ſo great as ours, there is the eaſier Acceſs to the Prince; and this kind of private Life, which his Exile in his younger Years brought him to accuſtom himſelf to, inſpires him with great Tenderneſs for his Subjects, and much Familiarity to Strangers; beſides, the Genius of the *Engliſh* does require they ſhould be governed after this gentle manner. And tho' the Crown here is Hereditary, yet the Monarchy has ſome Allays in it of other Sorts of Governments; and hence it is, that as the King muſt uſe ſome Freedom with the Nobility and Gentry, in order to preſerve their Affection and Eſteem, theſe laſt are alſo obliged to uſe the ſame Practice towards Tradeſmen, and their Domeſticks. Military Officers in like manner practice the ſame towards their Soldiers, who often ſpeak to them with their Hats on, and without any Complement; and hence it is that the *Engliſh* Nobility cannot regulate their Incomes and Expence as they ought to do, becauſe they muſt Let their Lands to Farmers and Receivers at a low Rate, if they would keep up the Reſpect and Obeyſance due unto them; and if they do not keep good Houſes they will be ſoon deſpiſed: But the *Engliſh* may be eaſily brought to any thing, provided you fill their Bellies, let them have Freedom of Speech, and do not bear too hard upon their lazy Temper. But notwithſtanding all the Gentleneſs, wherewith the King, who is

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one of the Beſt Princes in the World, uſes his Subjects, he can ſcarce reſtrain their Caballing from time to time againſt the Government; witneſs the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Briſtol*, now on Foot, of which you have already heard, and would have me give ſome Account of: I heartily wiſh you would diſpence with my Compliance herein, for I muſt confeſs to you that I have not look'd far enough into that Matter; but ſince you will allow of no Excuſe, I'll recount all that I could learn of it unto you.

Difference between the Earl of Briſtol and the Chancellor.

In reflecting therefore upon the preſent State of *England*, and the Lord Chancellor's being accuſed by the Earl of *Briſtol*, it looks as if the leaſt Sparks of Fire, when they meet with Combuſtible Matter, ſhould make great Conflagrations; and that perhaps there was not ſo much Pretence for the Commotions in the late King's Time, as there would be now, if Things were diſpoſed to it. But the laſt Civil War is too freſh in Memory, and continued too long to be ſo ſoon followed by another Riſing; and this is the chief Reaſon that makes Men believe new Tumults will not ſo ſoon be raiſed again, but that the People will content themſelves with talking of the paſt and preſent Times with all the Freedom the *Engliſh* uſually take: For not to diſoblige the *Italians*, the *Engliſh* are as much upon the Politicks as they, and the Great Ones much leſs ſpared than the other. In the mean time ſome new Circumſtance may ariſe that may introduce a new Subject of Diſcourſe. The Earl of *Briſtol* and the Chancellor may die, and that Envy and Evil-ſpeaking, wherewith that Favourite has been proſecuted, may alight upon ſome other Perſon, or elſe ſome other Matters may intervene to furniſh People with different Diſcourſes. Theſe Two Men have the

Reputation of being Grand Politicians. My Lord Chancellor *Hyde* is a Man of the Law, he ſtudied and profeſſed it in his younger Years, and therefore is skilled in the Forms of it, but otherwiſe knows but little, and is ignorant of the *Belles Lettres* : He is taken to be inclined in his Heart to Presbytery, and to have a Popular Spirit: He is a handſome Man, of about Threeſcore Years of Age, and has the Honour to be Father-in-law to the Duke of *York*, which perhaps is one of his Crimes in the Eyes of the Earl and the People. The Earl of *Briſtol* is younger than the Chancellor, one of the Ancient Nobility, has gone through great Imployments, and is a Perſon of Fine Parts, which incline him to be ſomewhat Preſumptuous, and fill him with Romantick Thoughts: He profeſſes himſelf a *Roman* Catholick, and has a middling Eſtate. They are both of them Bold, Eloquent, and have a ſtrong Party on their Side. The Houſe of Lords, all the Court-Malecontents, and a good Part of the Houſe of Commons, take *Briſtol*'s Part. Theſe laſt ſting ſmartly; they are thoſe who make the moſt Noiſe, and in Reality have the greateſt Power, or to ſpeak more adaptly, are the true Body of the Parliament, as Things ſtand now-a-days. The Presbyterians, whoſe Reformation is according to the *Geneva* Mode, have ulcerated Minds; and almoſt all the People in *London*, who are of this Sect, readily hearken to any Thing which tends to the bringing down of the Epiſcoparians, becauſe they have got the Churches into their Poſſeſſion, purſuant to the Act of Uniformity. My Lord *Clarendon* has all the Royal Family on his Side; and Three or Four Months ago he has had a Grandſon Born, which ſtrengthens his Intereſt: Indeed the Queen-Mother at firſt was much diſſatisfied with her Son's Mar-

Marrying the Chancellor's Daughter; but finding at laſt the Thing was irretrievable, and that the King himſelf did acquieſce with it; and withal, that the good Harmony there was between her Children, and the Unitedneſs of the Royal Family, were the Things which could Crown the Felicity of her Old Age, ſhe wiſely endeavoured to make her ſelf eaſie, and gently to ſpend the reſt of her Days in *Somerſet-Houſe*, where ſhe enjoy'd a large Revenue, and kept a very regular Court. Beſides, my Lord *Jermin*, (now Entituled Earl of St. *Albans*, who makes little or no Pretenſions to the Prime Miniſtry,) being a Man of Pleaſure, entertains no other Thoughts than to live at Eaſe; and having undoubtedly influenced the Queen's Mind to Peace, this has effaced the Hatred which ſhe bore unto the Chancellor. The King himſelf, who hitherto has been pleaſed with this Perſon's Miniſtry, as affording him Leiſure enough to repoſe and divert himſelf, and being reſolved to ſtand to his Protection, for fear if he ſhould give Way, thoſe who are diſaffected to him might be ſo Bold as to improve this Weakneſs to his Diſadvantage: He ſupports the Chancellor with a high Hand, with whom alſo the Nobility, chief Merchants, and all the Citizens that are not inclined to Diſturbances, readily chime in: The Biſhops, and ſuch as hold good Prebends, are for the Earl of *Clarendon*; ſo that it looks as if his Party were the ſtrongeſt, and would be too hard for that of *Briſtol*.

Talk of the People.

But nothing can be ſaid concerning the Event, if we conſider the Inſtability of Humane Affairs, as well as that of the Nation; the Diſpoſition of the Parliament, the Common Diſcourſes of the People, and what paſſed at Court for Three

Years last past, which is continually debated by the *English*, according to their Way: For as they are naturally lazy, and spend half their Time in taking Tobacco, they are all the while exercising their Talents about the Government; talking of new Customs, of the Chimney-Money, the management of the Publick Treasure, and the lessening of Trade: And so looking back, and calling to mind the Strength of their Fleets in *Oliver*'s Time, the Glory they obtain'd in all Parts of the World, the Alliances every Body courted to make with them, the Pomp of their Republick, to whom came Ambassadors from all Parts, they cannot forbear to make odious Comparisons, and to shew the Inclination they have to New Troubles: They are fond enough of a King, for the greater Glory of their Country; they love the Title, and prefer Regal Government before any other. But they own their over-free and too arrogant Temper requires some Restraint, so as that it may not salley out to an Excess of Rudeness; and they pretend that their King ought to apply himself entirely to maintain the Publick Peace, to promote the Happiness of his People, and to advance the Honour and Reputation of his Country abroad, as much as possibly he can. They say that 'tis for this End he is allowed a Revenue to live in so much Splendor; and that their Parliament, wherein the Sovereign Power resides, never refuses him any thing he asks of them to carry on his Just Designs: But that it grieves them to see the most Important Affairs committed to the Care of a Minister, who has always Interests of his own, contrary to those of the Publick; and that they are sensible the People are made to bleed unprofitably; and that the Money

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is ſpent either Superfluouſly, or upon baſe Luſts; that 'tis not reaſonable ſome Court Blood-Suckers ſhould gorge themſelves alone; and that there was neither Navigation, nor Tillage, nor any Toils by Land or Sea, but was made uſe of to contribute to the Eaſe of a few Idle Packs, who abuſed the good Humour of their Prince. Theſe Thoughts and Diſcourſes very well ſuit with the Haughty Humour of the *Engliſh*, and the Jealouſie wherewith they eye the Proſperity of others: But beſides a particular Inclination they have by Nature to ſupply themſelves with ſuch diſreſpectful Arguments, they have for a long time been Bred up in this Ill Habit, through the Liberty their Parliaments have; the Hiſtory of which, ſo far as it occurrs to my Memory, or according to the Idea's I have formed of it, I ſhall briefly relate to you, ſeeing I have not at preſent any other Helps to give you a more exact Account of them.

The Origine of the Power of the Houſe of Commons.

England was heretofore Conquered by the *Germans*, who made a Deſcent there at a time when the Natives were no other than half Salvages, ſuch as the *Highlanders* of *Scotland* are at this Day. Such Irruptions as theſe have befallen ſeveral other Countries; for when a Nation found itſelf overſtock'd with People, they have been put upon a Neceſſity of ſeeking out new Habitations: So it was anciently with the *Greeks*, who ſent Colonies into *Aſia*; and with the *Egyptians*, who did the ſame in *Paleſtine*: The *Oſtrogoths* over-run *Gaul* and *Italy*, and the Maritime People of the Northern Parts paſſed into *America*. The *Saxons* being informed of the Fruitfulneſs of the Iſland, which was inhabited by a more Undiſciplined People than they were, reſolved to tranſport themſelves thi-

ther; and several younger Sons of the best Families, and petty Princes Sons joining together, formed an Army, One of whom was chosen General. The Enterprize succeeded, they conquered the Islanders, settled in *England*, and so formed a People, consisting of Two Nations, into One Body, and called them *English-Saxons*: But a Victorious Army cannot well subsist long under the Command of the same General, but that he, if endued with Ambition and Courage, must usurp the Sovereign Power, and make himself King over them: The *Saxon* General actually became so over the Conquered Country, and gave his Officers Part of the Land, which they were to hold of him, but he at the same time granted them very large Priviledges, insomuch that their Vassals were not only liable to heavy Services, and Bind-Days, but obliged to take up Arms for their Defence; and this Authority made them frequently withdraw themselves from under the Obedience of the Prince. For tho' those Petty Tyrants, taken separately, were much inferior in Strength to the King that was to attack them, yet upon the Junction of several of them together their Power was formidable. Things continued in this State for several Ages; the King and his Barons finding some Cause or other continually to differ, and betake themselves to Arms; and these Broils were of a longer or shorter Duration, according as they were more or less united amongst themselves against the Royal Power: Nay, Things were carried so far at last, that almost all the Barons of the Kingdom having joined with the Bishops, rendred themselves a Match for King *John*, and continuing the War against *Henry* III. overpowered him. But *Edward* I.

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his Son, Sirnamed *Longſhanks*, oppoſed them with a great deal of Courage; and to the end he might the more eaſily compaſs his Deſigns againſt the Nobility and Clergy, who had been ſo very troubleſome to his Predeceſſors, he was forced to make Uſe of a Stratagem. It's true, indeed, that it was a Fit of Deſpair that put him upon it; but ſuch as afterwards contributed very much to the weakning of the Monarchy, and was the Cauſe of all the Misfortunes and Tragedies that enſued. To the End therefore that he might humble the Nobility and Biſhops, he called a Parliament of Commoners, with whom he conſulted only about the Affairs of the Kingdom, without adviſing either with the Barons or Prelates, of which the Houſe of Lords conſiſts at this Day, and with whom the Kings formerly were wont to examine the Requeſts of the Lower Houſe, and did what they thought fit in the Matter. The Ancient Way uſed to call the Commons together was this; the King with his Queen being at *Gloceſter*, and tarrying there for ſome time, commanded the Bailiffs to give the Burroughs and Counties Notice to ſend Two Burgeſſes, and as many Gentlemen, to preſent their Requeſts to him: The King having received and adviſed with the Barons there preſent about the ſame, let the Commons know his Pleaſure thereupon, and diſmiſt them. But in this Parliament of *Edward* I. the Commons made themſelves more conſiderable than they had been at any time before; and the King was glad to find their Authority riſe to the Diminution of the Clergy and Nobility; ſo that at laſt they had nothing left but the Titles of Counties and Dioceſſes, without having any Power over the Perſons, Goods or Actions of their Vaſſals: Then

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it was that they began to ſpeak of the Rights of the People, and to form the Leaven of all the Seditious Principles, which ſince that have armed the Subjects againſt their Lawful Sovereigns, under the Cover of the Publick Good, and the Removal of State Grievances: So that Ambitious and Mutinous Spirits have frequently found a Way to make the Court odious in the Houſe of Commons. King *Edward* was not aware of this Inconveniency; and the preſent Neceſſity he lay under of depreſſing his Enemies was a Bar to his farther Care and Proſpect of what ſuch a Pace might in time produce.

Reflections upon the Nature of the People.

He did not conſider that the People, tho' under never ſo Juſt and Moderate a Government, never love thoſe that Govern them with an Over-Tenderneſs: The unequal Diſtributions of worldly Goods and Honour, (which 'tis impoſſible to avoid,) cauſe perpetual Jealouſies between the great Ones, and Hatred between thoſe of a Lower Degree: The Love of Liberty, or rather that natural Fierceneſs and Pride, the Fatal Seeds of which the Heart of Man retains, ſince his firſt Diſobedience to the Divine Command, and the equal Right every one had in Reality over every thing in a State of Nature, in Conjunction with a Principle of Glory, which thwarts our voluntary Submiſſion to one another, will cauſe an Eternal Difference between Mankind, ſo as that the beſt of Princes, and thoſe who are moſt diſpoſed to promote the Good of their Subjects, are not able to govern them peaceably, without they are in a Capacity to uſe Force and Authority, after they have try'd Perſwaſion and the Courſe of Juſtice to no Purpoſe: Wherefore, ſeeing the *Engliſh* do not love their Sovereigns as much as could

could be deſired, it's convenient that there ſhould be a third Sort of Men between the King and the People, againſt whom the latter might ſpit their Venom, but at the ſame time be a Barrier againſt thoſe Undiſciplined Animals, and ſtop the Torrent from paſſing as far as the Throne. Princes ought for this Reaſon to Protect the Nobility; and when the Dikes to the Seaward are Fortified, there is no need of doing it to the Landward. Princes, in Point of good Policy, ought to Govern, ſo as that no Vaſſals ſhould ever become Maſters of their Lords, under whom they held; and to take diligent Heed leſt their Nobility, by being left to livet oo much at their Eaſe, might in time ſo Increaſe in Power, as might prove diſadvantageous to the Sovereign. It's their mutual Intereſt that each Part be kept in a juſt Medium: For as the Nobility cannot ſubſiſt but by the Supream Authority, which preſerves them from the Defections of their Vaſſals; ſo Kings cannot be ſecure on their Thrones, and have a ſplendid Court, without their Nobility. And therefore King *Edward* perhaps did not weigh the Matter ſo well, in giving the Commons in Parliament ſo much Authority, which from thenceforward they have endeavoured to maintain, and in our time turned the Three Kingdoms into a Republick.

King reſtored by Monk.

But at laſt Juſtice and ſound Policy prevailed; and I hope thoſe Rebels Heads that are put upon *London Bridge* and *Weſtminſter-Hall* will no leſs frighten the Seditious, than the Bleſſings heaped upon General *Monk* will prove to be a good Example to thoſe that love Repoſe, and have any Regard to the Honour and Encomiums of Fidelity that will attend them. For we are not to believe that the King's good Fortune in being reſtored,

ſtored, was accidental, but indeed a premeditated Deſign: The Duke of *Albemarle* is a Man of Senſe, Courage and Conduct; ſo that I have no Regard at all to what thoſe People ſay, who Envy his Glory, *viz.* that the Diſagreement of the Factions, after the Death of *Cromwell*; the Diſorders and Broils in Parliament; the Jealouſie of his Companions, and the Attempt the Parliament made to diſpoſſeſs him of his Command, by appointing Four Commiſſioners to govern the Army, put *Monk* upon the Thoughts that it was better to have the Glory of reſtoring the King to his Throne, than to fall down himſelf from the Poſt he was in, or to attempt that which the Protector had done, and what he had not Power to accompliſh. But 'tis very certain that this Valiant Man did his Duty; and in taking to the Right Side, he has *Plus Dapis & Rixæ, multo minus Invidiæque:* My Meaning is, that he put a Spoke into the Wheel when Fortune had raiſed him high enough; and he found it to be much better for him to be the firſt Officer of the Crown in Tranquility, than if he had ſpent the reſt of his Days in Tyrannizing over his Country, and been continually buſied in Warding off the Puniſhment he ſhould ſo juſtly deſerve: For 'tis very rare to meet with ſuch another Example as that of *Cromwell*'s, who died in his Bed, and was Depoſited in the Burying-place of the Kings of *England:* General *Monk* has now Lodgings in *White-Hall*; and if he has no Expectations of being Buried in *Henry* VII's Chapel, he need not be afraid of being one time or other dragged out from thence with Ignominy.

What

What Motives ſoever *Monk* had to perform ſo Glorious an Action, I have been aſſured in *England*, that the Protector's Government was ſo violent that it could not laſt long, and it was thought the Trouble of Mind he laboured under ſhortned his Life. For as he was obliged to be at a prodigious Expence both by Sea and Land, and to be always upon the Guard, as well as to give away large Sums of Money to his Spies, that ſo he might have Intelligence of every Conſpiracy and Deſign againſt his Perſon, he could no longer bear it; and as Abſolute as he was, he was to be Tender in the Point of laying Taxes upon the People. In ſhort, the Riches of *England* are very much Limited, and the People are not very forward to part with their own for the Uſe of the Publick. All Taxes muſt have been raiſed by the Parliament, and the Protector had always enough to do to manage the People, tho' the Parliament was at his Devotion. Hence it was that he died in Debt, and that the King himſelf has been obliged to pay his Debts. *Oliver*'s Soldiers being not willing to loſe any of their Arrears. Thoſe who have not made a near Inſpection into the Affairs of *England*, or not ſtudied the Genius of the People, and the Irregularity of their Politicks, among which there is an Intermixture of all Sorts of Governments, will find it difficult to comprehend all this.

Cromwel's Government could not have laſted.

From theſe more Serious Matters, let us paſs to ſome others of more Gaity; for I know, Sir, you would have me give you an Account of the Plays, Walks, Houſes of Pleaſure, and Feaſts I have been at: The *Engliſh* are not very Dainty; and the greateſt Lords Tables, who do not keep *French* Cooks, are covered only with large Diſhes

of

of Meat: They are Strangers to Bisks and Pottage: Only I saw once some Milk-Pottage in a large and deep Dish, some of which, as a singular Favour, the Master of the House gave in a *China* Dish to some of his Guests: Their Pastry is coarse and ill baked; their Stewed Fruits and Confectionary Ware cannot be eat; they scarce ever make use of Forks or Ewers, for they wash their Hands by dipping them into a Bason of Water. It's common enough for them after Meals to Smoke Tobacco, in the interim of which they converse a long time and freely: People of Quality do not use it so much as others; and there is scarce a Day passes but a Tradesman goes to the Alehouse or Tavern to smoke with some of his Friends, and therefore Publick Houses are numerous here, and Business goes on but slowly in the Shops: For a Taylor and a Shoemaker, let his Business be never so urgent, will leave his Work, and go to drink in the Evening; and as he oftentimes comes home late, or half Seas over, he has no great Inclination to go to Work, and opens not his Shop, even in Summer-time, till after Seven in the Morning. This makes Manufactures dear, and renders the Natives angry with the *French* People; for our Tradesmen are usually more Industrious; and as they are more handy at their Work, Folks go the willinger to Buy of them, and they can Sell cheaper than the *English*, who would have as much for the little they do as the others, and the loss of their Time made up to them that Way. This, together with their voracious and lazy Temper, is the Reason why the *Dutch* always undersell the *English*; for 'tis certain that these have always more Hands on Board their Ships, do not live so cheap, and are not satisfied with so little Profit: And hence it is

that

that they muſt neceſſarily fall out ſometimes; and that the ſtriking of the Flag to the *Engliſh*, which gratifies their Ambition, does not ſatisfie the Intereſt they have in Trade: Things fall out every Day, for which there is no Remedy, and frequently to the Detriment of the *Engliſh* Companies. But the happy Situation of their Iſland, by which their Neighbours muſt unavoidably paſs, if they do not go North about, as the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Ships, and many of their Men of War, frequently do, makes the *Hollanders* comply with what they would have of them: Nevertheleſs, as to their Herring Fiſhery, which is a Bone of Contention between theſe Two Nations, who diſpute the Freedom of the Sea, and have writ Books about it on both Sides, that of *Selden* being *Mare Liberum*, and *Grotius*'s *Mare Clauſum*, it happens that both of them having caught great Store of this Fiſh, and pickled them at a great Charge, the Sale of the *Engliſh* is ſpoilt by the Cheapneſs of the *Dutch* Herrings, for they Sell at a Loſs; and while every Body Buys of the *Dutch*, the others Fiſh rots in their Warehouſes, and the *Engliſh* Company is incapable to follow the Fiſhery another Year. The *Dutch* Company, which is the more Potent, and Trades at a leſs Charge, then fit out their Buſſes to Sea, make a great Fiſhery, and having the Herring Trade to themſelves, they ſet a Price on them, and make themſelves amends for the Loſs of the ſeveral Millions which they had before ſuſtained; and this is a Specimen of the Cunning of the *Dutch* in Trade, againſt which the *Engliſh* can oppoſe nothing but Threats, and the Inſults they put from Time to Time upon them.

Deſcription of a Country Houſe.

I will not take upon me to deſcribe the Royal Palaces of *Windſor* and *Hampton-Court* to you; and that I may only give you an Idea of thoſe that are Inferior to them in Dignity, I ſhall ſpeak of the Earl of *Salisbury*'s Houſe, to which the Earl of *Devonſhire* carried me: It's about Eighteen Miles from *London*; we dined there, and return'd to Town the ſame Evening, but rid hard for it: *Hatfield* then is a very Fine Caſtle, Built in a large Park, by the Father of this Lord, which he finiſhed in leſs than a Year from the time it was begun; and this his Son-in-Law, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, told me, that I might know other Countries as well as *France* could be very expeditious in Erecting Fine Buildings. It ſtands very advantageouſly, from which you have a Proſpect of nothing but Woods and Meadows, Hills and Dales, which are very agreeable Objects that preſent themſelves to us at all Sorts of Diſtances: Our Nobility, and even thoſe of a more Inferior Degree, would have made Uſe of the Waters here, for ſome Excellent Uſes and Inventions; and more eſpecially of a ſmall River, which as it were forms the Compartiments of a large *Parterre*, and riſes and ſecretly loſes itſelf in an Hundred Places, and whoſe Banks are all Lined or Boarded. I never ſaw a more engaging Retreat than this: The Caſtle is Built of Brick, with ſeveral ſmall Towers, covered with Lead and Slate. It has Three Courts below; the Firſt contains the Stablings and other Conveniencies for Poultry, *&c.* When you come through the Chief Avenue to the Park Side, and when the Gates of the lower Courts are open, there are Walks preſent themſelves to your View, that reach to the further End of the Park, and make you loſe your Sight: The Caſtle is wonderfully delightful, and

and the Inſide is exceeding Stately: I reckoned Fifteen Pictures very finely ſet off on the ſame Floor, alſo a large Gallery and a Chapel: We Dined in a Hall that looked into a Greenplot with Two Fountains in it, and having Eſpaliers on the Sides, but a Baliſter before it, upon which there are Flower-Pots and Statues: From this Paterre there is a way down by Two Pair of Stairs, of about Twelve or Fifteen Steps to another, and from the Second to the Third: From this Terraſs you have a Proſpect of the great Water Parterre I have ſpoke of, which forms a Fourth; there is a Meadow beyond it, where the Deer range up and down, and abbutting upon a Hill, whoſe Top ends in a Wood, and there bounds the Horizon to us. I ought not to forget the Vineyard, nor the ſeveral ſmall Buildings on the ſide of it, ſome of which ſerve for a Retreat to ſeveral Sorts of Birds, which are very tame. There are alſo Arbours or Summer-Houſes, like *Turkiſh* Chiosks, upon ſome of the Eminences, which have a Gallery round, and are erected in the moſt Beautiful Places, in order to the Enjoying of the Diverſified Proſpects of this Charming Country: You have alſo in thoſe Places, where the River enters into and comes out of the Parterre, open ſort of Boxes, with Seats round, where you may ſee a vaſt Number of Fiſh paſs to and fro in the Water, which is exceeding clear; and they ſeem to come in Shoals to enjoy all the Pleaſures of the Place; and quitting their own Element by jumping ſometimes out of the Water, this they do as it were to obſerve all the things I have deſcrib'd to you.

The Earl of Devonſhire.

Give me leave, Sir, before I quit this Enchanted Caſtle, to give the Earl thanks for the Honour he did to take me to ſee it; and to let you know that he is a Lord of the higheſt Quality, and one of the

Richeſt in *England*; tho' 'tis his Vertue, and that of his whole Family, is what I would chiefly repreſent unto you: The Counteſs, his Mother, is ſtill alive, and lives ſplendidly at *Rohampton*, one of her Seats near *London*. His Father was Mr. *Hobbs*'s firſt Patron; he was a Noble Lord of Fine Parts, very Curious, full of Courage and Goodneſs: He loved Innocent Pleaſures and Men of Honour, and was deſirous that every Body ſhould enjoy themſelves at his Houſe, from whence he had baniſhed all Melancholly: The late M. *du Boſc*, as well as Mr. *Hobbs*, told me a great many things concerning this Lord that would be worth your Hearing; but I'll confine my ſelf to ſpeak of my Lord, his Son, whom I found to be one of the Civileſt Gentlemen in the World: He is like his Father, Free, Generous, and a Lover of Learning, being himſelf well verſed in the Liberal Sciences. He was brought up by Mr. *Hobbs*, whom he loves and reveres, and with a far greater Deference than Perſons of his Quality are wont to ſhew to their Governours, when they have no longer a Relation to them in that Reſpect: And indeed I do believe that the great Improvement he made by his Inſtructions puts him upon making him theſe Acknowledgements, for the Bent of Natural Inclination would not be of Energy enough to keep up ſo long and conſtant a Friendſhip for ſuch Old Domeſticks: I never ſaw one of a more ſweet Temper, greater Humanity, and better than this Lord, among all the great Nobility, who are for the moſt part intolerably proud and haughty in *England*. It looks as if a Lord took himſelf to be of another Species than a Gentleman, ſo imperiouſly he carries himſelf towards him: He having been perhaps brought up in the Country, and that among Footmen, whom he kicked about

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at Will and Impunedly, without having been poliſhed by Travelling, which is too often done with a Governour that takes no other Care than to flatter him: Noble-men in *England* cannot be arreſted nor detained upon the Account of Debt, no more than Prieſts in other Places: It's very difficult to ſeize their Eſtates, and much more to execute the Laws. I could ſay ſomething very particularly in reference to a Great Lord,

——— *Quem verſu dicere non eſt,*
Signis perfacile eſt ———

of whom I was entruſted to demand the Payment of a certain Debt, which could not have incommoded him, and which Money, a Perſon of Quality of my Acquaintance had lent him in *France*, when he extreamly wanted it: Tho' this Noble Lord has Two Hundred Thouſand Livres a Year, is a Man of Parts, and has a good ſhare in Vertue, his Memory as to Debts is exceeding ſhort; and 'tis very difficult to come to his Levy, for he has Four Houſes to lye in, which he makes uſe of as the Night overtakes him, and according as his Buſineſs lyes for the next Day: However, I got once to the Speech of him, and he gave me very good Words; for he is Courteous, Civil, Liberal, Obliging, Devout, Learned, and a Philoſopher, who brings himſelf into Streights by his Expences upon Curious Projects, while he forgets his Creditors, and the Payment of his Debts. I loſt ſome Time in waiting on him, and came away without Succeſs; but this only by the By, and without naming Names. The Earl of *Devonſhire* is not of this Inclination, neither does the Greatneſs of his Fortune admit him to make uſe of this Priviledge of the Peerage; neither could I obſerve he was any Ways tainted with the other Faults of the Nobility, or of the Nation; for

which he owns himself daily beholding to that Excellent Person, who was entrusted with his Education, and who I hope will also inspire the same Sweet, Obliging, and Ingenious Demeanor into the Lord *Cavendish*, his Eldest Son, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s Son-in-law.

After my return from *Hatfield*, I staid some Days longer at *London*, where I had the Curiosity to see Two or Three Things over again, which I thought I had not so well consider'd before: I mean the Court, Play-house, and *Henry* VII's Chappel: I was mighty glad to see in the *Abby* the Tombs of *Casaubon* and *Cambden*. The Roof of the Chappel is very Curious Rose-work, and the Structure both within and without is one of the Finest Buildings in *Europe* of the kind. They shewed me a great Stone under the Chair where their Kings are Crown'd, which the Common People call *Jacob*'s Stone; but that which was most remarkable were the Stately Tombs of *Richmond*, *Buckingham*, and *Henry* VII. which are equal to, if they do not exceed, those of ours in St. *Denis*. I shall say nothing of the ridiculous Report given out at *London*, as if *Cromwell* had given Secret Orders his Body should be depositted in one of these Tombs; and this they fancied from the Precaution he used in his Life-time for his Security, he having Twenty several Bed-Chambers, so that it might not be known in which of them he lay. Having mentioned the Body of the Protector, which was hang'd at *Tyburn*, and his Head set upon a Pole on *Westminster-Hall*, this puts me in Mind of a Notion that prevails among the People, and makes many of them believe that *Cromwell*'s Cunning proceeded so far as to open some of the King's Tombs at *Westminster*, and to take Care that the Bodies should be removed,

ved, and others put in their ſtead: The Courtiers have the conveniency of walking in a large Park, which is pleaſant enough, but the many Hackney Coaches uſed there diſgrace the Company, they are more like Carts, or ordinary Travelling Waggons, than Coaches made for State or Pleaſure: In *Hide-Park* there is no further Diverſion than making the Great Ring; there is nothing to be ſeen acroſs it of any Moment, and but little Gallantry attends the whole. Sometimes they alight and go into St. *James*'s-*Park*, that is like the Tuillery at *Paris*, and uſually walk faſt there. The Play-houſe is much more Diverting and Commodious; the beſt Places are in the Pit, where Men and Women promiſcuouſly ſit, every Body with their Company, the Stage is very handſome, being covered with Green Cloth, and the Scenes often change, and you are regaled with new Perſpectives. The Muſick with which you are entertained diverts your time till the Play begins, and People chuſe to go in betimes to hear it. The Actors and Actreſſes perform their Parts to Admiration, as I have been informed, and ſo far as I my ſelf could judge of them by their Geſtures and Speech. But the Players here wou'd be of little Eſteem in *France*, ſo far ſhort the *Engliſh* come of the *French* this Way: The Poets laugh at the Uniformity of the Place, and the Rules of Times: Their Plays contain the Actions of Five and Twenty Years, and after that in the Firſt Act they repreſent the Marriage of a Prince; they bring in his Son Fighting in the Second, and having Travelled over many Countries: But above all things they ſet up for Characterizing the Paſſions, Vertues and Vices of Mankind admirably well; and indeed do not fall much ſhort in the performance. In repreſenting

Court.

Play-houſe.

a Miſer, they make him guilty of all the baſeſt Actions that have been practiſed in ſeveral Ages, upon divers Occaſions and indifferent Profeſſions: They do not matter tho' it be a Hodch Potch, for they ſay, they mind only the Parts as they come on one after another, and have no regard to the whole Compoſition. I underſtand that all the *Engliſh* Eloquence conſiſts in nothing but meer Pedantry, and that their Sermons from the Pulpit, and their pleadings at the Bar, are much of the ſame Stamp. I can ſay nothing of my ſelf as to theſe Particulars, I only tell you what others have aſſured me to be true. The *Engliſh* Books are moſtly writ after the ſame manner, and contain nothing but Rapſodies of things ill enough ſet together; and yet they are Valued, and the Authors get Reputation by them; for they frequently never cite the Books from whence they Borrow, and ſo their Copies are taken for Originals. They are great Admirers of their own Language; and it ſuits their Effeminacy very well, for it ſpares them the Labour of moving their Lips: It muſt needs be very Copious and Adapt; for tho' 'tis a Corruption of the *Teutonick* or *German* which indeed is a very narrow Tongue, yet it openly declares it to be her Buſineſs to grow Rich with the Spoils of all dead Languages, and every Day impunedly to appropriate all that is good and proper for her from the living ones: Their Comedies are a kind of Blank Verſe, and ſuit an Ordinary Language better than our Meetre, and make ſome Melody: They cannot but conceive it to be a troubleſome thing to have the Ear continually tickled with the ſame Cadence; and they ſay, that to hear Heroick Verſes ſpoken for Two or Three Hours together, and to recoyl back from one to the other, is a Method of Expreſſion

Elegance of the Engliſh *Language.*

Proſe-Comedy.

preſſion that is not ſo natural and diverting: In ſhort, it looks as if the *Engliſh* would by no means fall in with the Practices and manner of Repreſentations in other Languages; and the *Italian* Opera's appear more extravagant, and much more diſliked by them than ours. But we are not here to enter upon a Diſpute about the different Taſtes of Men, it's beſt to leave every one to abound in his own Sence. It's not upon this Occaſion only that we may obſerve, how People many times are much pleaſed with Trifles; and that one of the greateſt Enjoyments they have is to impoſe upon themſelves, or to fill their Heads with ſome Illuſion to Divert them, till another comes on, and ſo new Airs and Faſhions ſeem always the beſt and moſt agreeable to our Fancies. It's the ſame in ſeveral other things, of which we may diſcourſe one time or another at our leiſure: But tho' the *Engliſh* Comedies are almoſt all Proſe, I brought a Volume writ by the Marchioneſs of *Newcaſtle* along with me, by which, as alſo by Three other Volumes of the Poetical, Political, and Philoſophical Works of this Lady, I was glad to make it appear in *France*, how much her Excellent Genius, Admirable Sence and Eloquence, abounded throughout the whole Compoſition.

Among the Diverſions of the City of *London*, I am not to forget the *Bear-Garden* Prize-fighters; they are uſually Fencing-maſters, or their Uſhers, who to gain themſelves Reputation, and ſomething elſe beſides Blows, put out a Challenge, and lay a Wager of Twenty or Thirty Pounds againſt any that will fight them: The Money is depoſited and delivered to him that acceps the Challenge; the Challenger takes up the Money that is received at the Door, which amounts

ſometimes to more than Twice or Thrice the Sum he gave his Opponent, as there are more or leſs People there to ſee the Sport: They fight with Sword and Buckler, and Back-Sword. But I fancy there is ſome ſort of Colluſion between them, to make the Sport laſt, for they preſently give over at the firſt Drawing of Blood; beſides, the Swords are blunt: However, they ſometimes give one another terrible Hacks and Slaſhes, ſo that half a Cheek hangs down; but this is done by chance, and happens not often, tho' there is always ſomething that is fierce in this Brutiſh Exerciſe.

Meets with a Friend before his Return.

I am to acquaint you, that before I repaſſed the Seas, my good Angel, in the Nick of time, brought to me a Gentleman, one of whoſe Parents was *Engliſh*, whoſe Company I had from *London* to *Paris*. I met in my return with none of thoſe Inconveniencies I encountred before: The People did not ſeem to be ſo rude, and the Country looked better than at firſt. This Gentleman was the Nephew of the late M. *du Prat*, my dear Friend; he is Young, but Prudent, Diſcreet, and of great Merit: He had before ſeen almoſt all Parts of *Europe* with my Lord *Cavendiſh*; but being deſirous to know as much of the World as he could, he went over into *Africa* with the Earl of *Peterborough*, when he went to take upon him the Government of *Tangier*, a Place ſurrendred to the Crown of *England* by the *Portugueze*. He is certainly worthy of the Name he bears; and 'tis with Delight that I ſaw the Vertues of his Unkle revive in him, together with thoſe of Mr. *Hobbs*, and other Excellent Men, whom he had ſeen in his Travels; for he was no ſtupid Traveller, and an Obſerver only of the good Inns he came to, but had taken a firm Reſolution to learn eve-

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ry thing worth his Knowledge, and nicely to diſtinguiſh the Goodneſs of things, as he had alſo a deſign to Poliſh himſelf, to form a Sound Judgment of Matters, and to attain as far as it was poſſible for him to a Conſummate Prudence; and it delighted my Heart to find he had ſucceeded ſo happily in all of them: For I looked upon him as no other than if he had been my Son, becauſe of the Friendſhip he ever profeſſed for me, and the Remembrance of that Eſteem and Veneration I had and ſtill retain for his late Unkle.

He meets with Madam Ulefield.

By the ſame good Fortune it fell out that *Dover* did not come ſhort of *Calais*, in the happy Interview I had there with a *Heroine*, whom I may ſet up in Competition with the Lady whoſe Company I had been Honoured with on the other Side of the Streight: But I ſaw her in a Place where I was very ſorry to meet with her, for it was in the Caſtle where ſhe was confined that I gave her a Viſit, and from whence ſince that ſhe was Tranſported to *Denmark*; in which Country ſhe ſuffered ſuch hardſhips as were unworthy of her Sex and Birth, with an Heroick Courage. What was told me as to the Reaſon of her being ſeized by the King of *England*'s Orders I cannot give Credit to: But I am glad of an Opportunity to relate to you the Pretence for it, and the whole Hiſtory of her Life, which indeed has a great deal Romantick in it, tho' I had it from her own Mouth when I went to wait upon her.

The Counteſs *Eleanor* is Siſter to the King of *Denmark*, now Reigning, and the Daughter of *Chriſtian* IV. who Married a Gentlewomen with his Left Hand, to diſtinguiſh between her and Princeſſes, and to leſſen the Quality of the Children

dren he might have by her: Amongſt others this was one of his Daughters by her, whom he extreamly loved, and when ſhe grew up to Maturity, he gave her in Marriage to a *Daniſh* Lord, for whom he had a very great Eſteem, and this was *Cornelius Ulefield Oxenſtern* of *Denmark*, the greateſt Man in his Kingdom, and who mhe took Pleaſure to advance to the higheſt Dignities. He made him Viceroy of *Norway*, Grand Maſter of his Kingdoms, and heaped upon him every thing that a Favourite could hope for; of which he has now no Remains left. but the moſt valuable of all, his moſt Illuſtrious Wife, for whoſe Confinement he is grieved to the Heart, while he himſelf wanders up and down in Foreign Countries under the Perſecution of his Evil Fortune.

Monſieur Ulefield.

What would you ſay, Sir, If I ſhould make it plainly appear to you, that the Eſteem his Maſter had for him, the Friendſhip he profeſſed to him, and the tender Affection wherewith he loved the Counteſs his Daughter, to ſay nothing of the Harmony between the Vertues of Two Perſons ſo equally Matched, have been the only Cauſe of their Misfortune, their Happineſs was thwarted by Envy, Domeſtick Jealouſies interpoſed, and all broke out after the Death of the late King; their great Genius came to be ſuſpected at Court, and their Removal from it, which was followed with all their other Mortifications, came to paſs in the following manner.

Treaty between the Danes *and* Dutch.

Chriſtian IV. Reigned very peaceably, and very long, for I think he governed the Kingdom for Two and Fifty Years: This Prince, who had gained the Hearts of his People, found they failed him after the Invaſion of *Schonen* by the *Swedes*: This

This had ſo exhauſted their Treaſure, and ſo much weakned or cowed *Denmark*, that in order to get out of Debt, or to keep and reſume their former Courage, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of having Recourſe to *Holland* for Relief. This was it that brought the Count of *Ulefield* to the *Hague* in the Year 1649, and to enter into a Treaty with the States General about the Paſſage of the *Sundt*, which he would let out to Farm to them. The Goodneſs of the late King, and the Sweets of Peace, had made the Gentry and Commonalty negligent of a great many Priviledges, which they deſigned to re-eſtabliſh in their former Vigour when they came to a new Election: The Grand Maſter muſt be tight to the Intereſt of the Court by his Office, which was to repreſent all the Nobility of the Kingdom, and to have a Negative Voice in their Debates: So that as nothing could paſs without his Conſent, he had been accuſtomed to Sign Placards, and publiſh Orders thus; *By the King and the Grand Maſter.* This Miniſter, I ſay, was intirely in the Intereſt of his Brother-in-law's, being Elected to ſucceed in the Throne; and perhaps, beſides the Intereſt he had in heightning the Priviledges of thoſe of his own Rank, he likewiſe conſidered that of his own Family, and the Animoſities that had been raiſed between the Children of the Royal Family, by reaſon of the Inequality of their Condition, and the Jealouſies which the Affection the late King had for the Counteſs *Eleanor*, wrought amongſt them.

Grand Maſter removed from Court.

Things ſtanding thus in *Denmark*, Monſieur *Ulefield* went for the *Hague*; the Treaty about the Paſſage of the *Sundt* with the *Dutch* Spun into a great length before it was concluded; and I believe it will ſcarce ever be executed, becauſe

it

it has not been ratified. The Court was much pleaſed with that, and no Endeavours were wanting to explode the whole Negotiation. On the other hand, thoſe who were Commiſſionated to execute the Office of Grand Maſter began to reliſh the Place, and were not ſorry that he ſhould not ſoon reſume it: In ſhort, they began to form Cabals againſt the Count, and uſed all the Artifice they had to ridicule his Negotiation. Upon his Return to *Copenhagen* he was offended at the Eſteem ſome were in, grew fretful, and would not take upon him the Adminiſtration of Affairs, as before, till the Ratification came from *Holland*. He Confined himſelf for Six Weeks in his Chamber under Pretence of Sickneſs: And this was the Second Error of this Great Man, who forgot that we muſt never quit an Advantageous Poſt at Court, not draw back under any Pretence whatever, not loſe the Thread of Buſineſs, nor give any Body an Opportunity to outdo us, much leſs to gain ground of us, by our Abſence.

Ulefield *goes to* Sweden *and* Poland *and returns to* Denmark.

While Count *Ulefield* kept himſelf thus at home in a kind of a voluntary Oſtraciſm or Baniſhment, his Spirits were more and more ſoured, his Friends began to cool, his Enemies took courage, ſo that at laſt he was accuſed of a Conſpiracy, for which Calumny put upon him he procured the Heads of thoſe falſe Witneſſes to be chopt off. But whilſt he continued in a juſt Defiance of the Evil Deſigns of his Enemies, yet fearing they might form new Accuſations againſt him, he retired to *Sweden*, whith made him Criminal to a Witneſs: After he had continued a great while out of the Kingdom, and that he found the Numerous Armies of the *Swedes* did nothing but range up and down *Poland*, he turned

turned the Torrent upon *Denmark*, and had a deep Hand in all thoſe Wars: The Death of the King of *Sweden* having re-eſtabliſhed the Peace of the *North*, he was comprehended in the general Pardon, and reſtored to his Eſtate, but not Employment. Finding therefore that he made but an ill Figure in his own Country, he grew uneaſie, and began to ſuſpect whether he was ſafe or not, becauſe the King had made the Kingdom Hereditary, and there were a World of Malecontents amongſt them; ſo that he might always be liable to be accuſed of a Deſign to put himſelf at the Head of them, whenever the Court had a Mind to diveſt him of his Liberty.

It's about Two Years ago that he pretended to go and Drink the *Spaw*-Waters, that he might be remote from Court; and ſo Travelling into *France*, he was at *Paris Incognito*, and from thence retired to *Bruges*, to paſs the Winter in that Country; and 'twas from that Place that his Lady, who has accompanied him in all his Travels, went over into *England* to look after ſome Money due to him there, as it is from *Bruges* that they imagine her Husband forms Conſpiracies in *Denmark*.

Arrives at Bruges.

May not this Relation I have here given you, Sir, together with ſome Epiſodes, be a good Subject for a Romance? And doth it not exactly agree with the exalted Mien of thoſe Two Heroick Perſons? For the great Adventures of theſe Heroes may be eaſily Read in their Foreheads; and does not all this require a wonderful Fortitude of Mind, which theſe Two Intrepid Spirits have retained as well in Adverſity as Proſperity: In ſhort, Sir, I know not whether it would be to their Advantage to have the Tranquility of thoſe Perſons in *Denmark*, who were afraid of

theſe

theſe Illuſtrious and Unhappy Pair reſiding in *Flanders*, in Exchange for the Agitations of Fortune they have been exerciſed with: And I do not doubt but their great Merit will at one time or other meet with due Acknowledgements, and that their Memory will be revered for their conſtant Fidelity to the King, as well as for the Zeal they have retained for the Fundamental Conſtitutions of their Country. I owed this ſhort Digreſſion to your Curioſity, and to the reſpect I have for Mr. *Ulefield* and his Lady, whom I had formerly the Honour to ſee at the *Hague*, in the time of his Embaſſie there.

Mr. Borri. I have nothing more to ſay to you ſince I fancy my ſelf now in *France*: I have formerly given ſome Account of *Holland*, and I have only Two or Three Words to add concerning the Famous Chevalier *Borri*, whom I ſaw at *Amſterdam* in my laſt Journey thither. You muſt know that this Perſon made ſo much Noiſe at *Paris*, that People of Quality in *Holland* were carried to him in Litters, in order to be Cured by this Mountebank, and that others of Learning went thither on purpoſe to Viſit ſo great a Man: What can we ſay to this, Sir, unleſs it be that we find that to be true now, which was ſo in former Times, that the frail Nature of Man may be defined by its Inclination to Error and Credulity: *Homo eſt Animal Credulum & mendax*, φιλοληρον ζῶον: Thoſe who ſo readily give credit to the Stories told them of theſe Miracle Workers, ſuch as *Borri* was eſteemed to be before the World came to be undeceived, undoubtedly were exceeding attentive in their Youth to the merry Tales of a Tub that were told them, which ſhewed a great deal of good Nature, and tractable Diſpoſitions. I could very freely deſcant upon this

The Credulity of Mankind.

this Matter; and I have ſeen ſo many things fall under this Head, that perhaps a Digreſſion this Way would not prove the moſt diſagreeable Part of my Diſcourſe. I remember a panick Fear with which the *Dutch* Women were ſeiz'd about Fifteen or Sixteen Years ago, that there were Mad People ran up and down the Streets in the Night, who cut off the Noſes of all they met; there was not a Day paſt but there was a Hundred Stories told of what had hapned there the Night before: Peoples Names were produced, and all the Circumſtances of the pretended Aſſaſſinations related. The Magiſtrates made very ſtrict Searches after them; and tho' not one Perſon was ever found to be wounded, and that the whole was nothing but the Chimera's of the Vulgar; there were Guards placed at the Corners of the Streets, and a Patroul appointed, who went their Rounds upwards of Six Weeks, and met nothing. The Hairy Monk formerly frightned all *Paris* in the ſame manner: People Ten Years ago were terribly alarmed with an Eclipſe, tho' it be a thing that frequently happens: I remember there was above once or twice a Day named on which the *Seine* was to overflow the Banks, and do a World of Damage; and this ſo impudently affirmed, that ſome People who lived near the River removed their Effects. But Credulity takes Delight from time to time, to diſcover the Aſcendency it has over the beſt Underſtanding, eſpecially in Matters of Phyſick and the Philoſophers Stone, Health and Riches being the moſt deſirable Things in this World, and ſuch as Vertuous Men ought not to neglect. So it happens, that after we have for a long while withſtood falſe Perſwaſions in this kind, have laughed at your common Phyſicians, we are ſuddenly drawn into

Eſpecially in Phyſick and the Philoſophers Stone.

into a firm Belief of the Promiſes of a Mountebank, and poſſeſſed with a mighty Opinion of his new Method, tho' he vends no other than the ſame Ware. The Perſon I am deſcribing to you is a tall Black Fellow, of a good Mien enough, who walks faſt, and lives tolerably handſome: But yet he is not the Man he is taken to be, and ſo much cried up: For Eight or Ten Thouſand Livres goes a great Way at *Amſterdam* for a Houſe that Coſt Fifteen Thouſand Crowns, ſtanding in a good Place, Five or Six tall Footmen, a *French* Dreſs, ſome Collation made for the Ladies, the remains of ſome Money, Five or Six Rix-dollars given to the Poor in due time and place, ſome ſort of Inſolence in Diſcourſe, and ſuch Artifices as theſe, make People, that are Cedulous, or ſuch as would have it ſo, give out that he gave away Handfuls of Diamonds, did very great things, and had an Univerſal Medicine: The Concluſion of all is, that *Borry* is a dextrous Cheat; he was the Son of an Able Phyſician in *Milan*, who left him ſome Fortune, and which he has increaſed by his Induſtry in the Manner I have related the Thing unto you.

The Addreſs of a Mountebank.

As he does not want Wit, he has by the help of it, and a little Study, found out the Way to gain the good Opinion of ſome Princes, who have allowed him Penſions in hopes he would Communicate to them the Philoſophers Stone, which he was upon the Point of finding out: he has without doubt ſome Skill or Experience in Chymical Preparations, as well as in Minerals: a ſort of a Way to imitate Pearls and Precious Stones, and perhaps ſome Purging Remedies and Cordials, which uſually are very good; for moſt of the Diſtempers that are incident to us ſtand in need of theſe. By the help of them it is that he has

has inſinuated himſelf into the good Opinion of thoſe he has occaſion to ſpeak of; Some Merchants as well as Princes have been caught with this Snare, witneſs the Two Hundred Thouſand Livres he promiſed to a certain Perſon who ſupplied him with Money, and for which the Merchant's Heirs now Sue the Spagirical Doctor; for the Spark expreſt the Bargain in ſo dark a manner as is not to be underſtood. This Cheat, to gain Reputation to himſelf, and to be much talked of, at firſt ſet up for an Arch-heretick: He underſtood that Phyſicians in general were repreſented as being not forward in believing the Myſteries of Religion, and therefore he made as if he believed more than he ought to have done. And as if he was puſhed on out of Devotion to give greater Honour to the Virgin *Mary* than the Church allowed, he proceeded ſo far as to make her One of the Four Perſons that Conſtituted the Divine Eſſence; for which the Inquiſition went to call him to an Account, and for his Contumacy Condemned him to be Burnt: He retired to *Inſprug*, where the late Arch-duke was the firſt that was bubbled by him: And by his Means continuing his Journey to *Holland*, he fixed in *Amſterdam*, as a proper Place to proclaim aloud the Perſecution he ſuffered at *Rome*; and where he found their Purſes open to carry on his Deſign of acquiring great Wealth. He quickly attained to ſome Credit there among the Citizens, and for ſome time was ſupported by an Old Burgo-maſter, whom he cheriſhed with his Cordials, till his Roguery came to be known by Everybody, and then he exploded his Artifices: All that theſe Sort of Men have to do, is to find out a Method to debaſe the Coin impunedly, or to alter the

He was Condemned at Rome.

Goes to Inſprug.

Settles in Holland.

The Cures he performs.

Metal one way or other, that has not yet been found out; for as to the Curing Diſtempers he has no better Succeſs where he is than the Bills and *Siquis*'s of a certain Perſon in this City, who has almoſt attained to as much Reputation in the Principality of *Liege* and *Holland*, as *Borri* had at *Paris*. Our Countryman however has taken a Method to hold out longer than the *Milanois*: He has not talk'd ſo vehemently as the other; but yet continuing unwearied in ſetting forth the Excellency of his Quinteſcence of *Raymond Lullus*, he has found Chapmen at laſt, and ſucceeded; and it may be to the great Advantage of the Sick, who entertain a great Opinion of his Phyſick, for which I am not ſorry: For in ſhort, every Body lives by his Induſtry; for 'tis likely, that if this Mountebank, who has had long and great Buſineſs, does not make more Cures, at leaſt he kills no more than the Phyſicians: The Grave hides the Faults both of the one and the other; and 'tis ever of great Moment to them, who have not Infallible Remedies, to know how to prepare Innocent ones, wherein the Patient may confide; for a ſtrong Imagination often tends to the Advantage of the Sick Perſon, and of the Phyſician.

Phyſick ought to be practis'd with diſcretion.

Some will tell us, that *Borri* was at *Naples* in the time of the Plague and that having an Excellent Preſervative, he went into the Peſt-houſe that had been abandoned by reaſon of the Infection, and the Death of the People, and that he had good Succeſs in thoſe Parts. I know not how true it is, but after all, give me leave to tell you, Sir, if the Man were not too Dogmatical, and had not given the Inquiſitors Cauſe to find fault with his Doctrine, his Genius might in ſome Meaſure deſerve to be praiſed;

ſed; and what remained further for us to do would be to laugh at the Credulity of thoſe who took him for a Great Man: For in this Infancy of Phyſick (to ſpeak ſincerely, and call Things by their proper Names) what is there more in it than wretched Conjectures? And as long as the Humour prevails in Mankind to ſuffer themſelves to be cheated, is there any Thing more to do than to vend the Remedies we have, which are very uncertain, to the beſt Advantage? The moſt Noble Phyſicians, notwithſtanding the Averſion they have had to it, have made uſe of ſome Stuff or other, as well as innocent Stratagems, to make the Patient readily to ſwallow their Phyſick: A very Ingenious Method, and ſuch as I have deſcribed in another Place, in ſpeaking of one of my Friends who was of this Profeſſion, and was not over-burdened with Practice; and indeed good Practice is not ſoon to be attained to, unleſs it be by a Bold Puſh, that has ſomething extraordinary in it.

The *Willi*'s, *Gliſſon*'s, *Bartholine*'s, *Gutſchovens*, and *Regius*'s, are ſcarce in the World; and if I could have met with many ſuch I ſhould not deſpair of the good Succeſs of Phyſick as much as I do; I am aſhamed to think there are ſuch few left to Comfort us for the irreparable Loſs the Publick has ſuſtained by the Death of the *Harvey*'s, *Wall*'s, *Weſtling*'s, and others: However we have ſome Matter of Rejoicing, to find ſome Young ones coming up, of whom there are great Hopes; and if the King's firſt Phyſician will but forward their good Inclinations, we ought not to be caſt down. Indeed Phyſick ſtands in need of Monſieur *Vallot*'s Aſſiſtance, and his Fortune is ſo well made, that he has leiſure to promote the Publick Good, and the Glo-

ry of his Art, which they cannot but neglect who are obliged to purſue the Intereſts of their Family. He might concert ſome Meaſures for it, and put the King upon incouraging thoſe that are curious in making Experiments, which are ſo neceſſary to bring an Art to Perfection, of which Princes ſtand in as much need as other Men, and ſuch as cannot be done by the Attempts of private Perſons: Tho' they may be done with no great Expence, when a good Method is once fixed upon, and that the Publick Authority interpoſes therein.

It were to be wiſhed the King's firſt Phyſician would promote his Art.

I do no more herein than ſerve for a Trumpet; a Title, I have told you, his Majeſty was pleas'd to dignifie me with amongſt the *Literati*: I cannot think all my Counſels can be for ever uſeleſs; for from the time that I firſt came to publiſh them, and to make ſome Noiſe in the World, I found ſome of them have not been quite neglected, no, not in reſpect to the Founding of the Royal Society in *England*, to which, I was amongſt the firſt, that had the Honour to contribute at Monſieur *de Montmor*'s: And I am of the Opinion, that future Ages would not take it ill at the Hands of the Kings firſt Phyſician, if he would, by the Intereſt he has in the King, contribute as much to the Advantage of Phyſick, as this Illuſtrious Maſter of Requeſts has done of himſelf for all Parts of Natural Philoſophy. The Bleſſings of Mankind attend this Excellent Perſon; the *Belles Lettres* and Sciences are not at all ungrateful to him; and the Praiſes ſo juſtly due to him, as well upon the Account of his Curioſity as Vertue, are trumpetted out in ſeveral Excellent Books everywhere. I am not afraid of overdoing the thing, if I take the freedom to ſay, that it ſeems to me as if the Muſes were in La-

Mr. Montmor.

bour,

bour, and that there will be mighty Diſcoveries made of Natural Things before the end of this Century. The many Noble Efforts made among the Learned of theſe Times prognoſticate the ſame unto us; and I am the more eaſily induced to believe this, from the Wiſdom and Felicity of our King, to whom this Glory ought not to be wanting in his Reign: This ought to have been ſaid by the way, that we may come off with Honour from Rambles wherein the Account I gave of *Borri* had plunged me, and put an End to the Wiſhes I have made, that Phyſicians may attain to that Perfection in their Practice, ſo as to diſtinguiſh them more than ever heretofore from Mountebanks; for People are very apt to confound Two Profeſſions, that are ſo near one another, tho' indeed very different.

In the mean time it might be expected I ſhould make an Apology for Phyſicians, and take upon me to refute all that *Michael de Montagne* and others have ſaid againſt them; and that, Sir, by ſhewing that the Diſorders among a Civil Society in Reference to the Improvements of Phyſick, and the Ignorance or Folly of thoſe that are Sick, and others in Health, as well as the private Intereſt of Phyſicians, oblige the beſt Practitioners to exerciſe their Faculty as they do.

But, Sir, enough of thoſe Arguments, and different Subjects, which I have perhaps ill-favouredly intermixt in my Account; I am afraid I have wearied you, but if you pleaſe I'll do the ſame thing as *Lewis* XI. did, who kiſſed a Leaden Medal that was ſowed to his Hat when he was to uſe ſome Piece of Severity, by deſiring you to give me leave to make a farther digreſſion in this place. It may ſerve as a Corrective for

all the Ramblings of my Narrative; tho' they were Reflections made by me on the Shuffling and Fanatical Diſpoſitions of the *Engliſh*, when they fall upon Matters of Religion and Politicks: But this may be applied to mean Genius's, who abandon their Minds to weak Meditations, as well as to all thoſe whoſe Learned and Ingenious Notions are of no other uſe than to diſturb the Tranquility of the World. Let me conclude therefore with a Touch of Septiciſm, and having Condemned thoſe Speculations that are too ſubtil, in reſpect to ſome things that ſhould be only handled ſlightly, *ut Contundantur groſſo modo*, as is uſual in the Practice of Phyſick, that requires to be treated more roughly and openly, *ex æquo & bono*, it comes to paſs that it Contemns itſelf, and ſerves for a purging Medicine to all this Diſcourſe: For as long as I clear it from all manner of Poſitiveneſs, it blots out all the Faults I may have committed: In caſe it ſhould appear I have ſaid any thing dogmatically in touching upon ſeveral things that occurred to me in *England* which might have ſome Affinity with what happens every Day elſewhere, and even as well among Divines as Politicians.

Whether it be proper to uſe Subtil Arguments about every thing, &c.

We are very often impoſed upon by ſome Diſcourſes, which ſeem to proceed from more refined Underſtandings, uncommon Probity, and the ſevereſt Vertue; and we are apt to take thoſe for the greateſt Politicians, the moſt intelligent and clear-ſighted Perſons in the World, who have but a mean Share of Vertue, Wiſdom and Penetration; or rather are guilty of divers Follies, Seditions, and diſguiſed Impieties. We uſually judge of the ſevere Virtues of theſe Perſons, who always magnifie their own Generoſity, Candour,

dour, and other Excellencies, and yet are ſometimes guilty of very extravagant Actions, as alſo of the boundleſs Politicks of others, which never come to paſs; I ſay, we judge of theſe things as we do of the Gentry, that wear Feathers and Ribons among the Common People, who by that take them to be very Rich, and Generous: None are generally more Beggarly and Sordid than theſe Rich and Liberal Men in Trifles: Their Tenants, if they have any, are continually plagued with advancing them Money beforehand; their Creditors are forced to break, their Servants ſtarve, and the moſt wary of them are at laſt neceſſitated to quit their Service: There is nothing in the World more ſurprizing than the Maxims of our Chimerical *Virtuoſi*, *ignava opera*, *Philoſopha Sententia*, and of our unwearied Politicians; they mortally hate the moſt innocent Lie, they take pity on Dogs, and little Birds, and do not ſtick to loſe their Lives, that they may never ſo little ſerve the Intereſt of an ordinary Friend; they will allow of nothing that ought to be more inviolable than the publick Faith, and never will admit of any Exception; they are ſo exact to their Words, that if they ſhould promiſe to bring all they are worth to Highway-men, they would not fail one Moment, and never reſent the Violence offered them. If all the Revenues of the Government were in their Hands, their own private Neceſſities ſhould never oblige them to make uſe of any of it: They cannot endure to hear that any Miſdemeanor ſhould be connined at, or that we ſhould be confident from ſome Conjectures that there are Seditious Perſons amongſt us; they would be very ready to ſerve Twenty Years together without receiving any other Profits than their Salary, and to govern a

Sick State without the uſe of Bleeding, ſince ſome Drops of good Blood might happen to be ſpilt: There can be nothing ſo great and magnificent as what they ſay, and ſcarce any thing more impoſſible to be done; and they find themſelves come much ſhort, when they are about to act purſuant to any of the ſtrict Rules of their Theory. They are neceſſitated to do that which they Condemned, and with more Shame and Contradiction than others, who do not pretend to ſo much Delicacy and Sublimity of Thoughts. But their Fine Genius's, if you will believe them, thoroughly juſtifies all the Contrariety we meet with in their Conduct; they are always mounted upon tall Horſes, talk high of their Prudence and Equity, when they are fartheſt from them: Like the Baron *de Feneſte*, who inſtead of beſtowing ſomething upon a poor Man that came to beg to him, bethought himſelf of ſome Queſtions about the Place of his Birth, and finding he did not anſwer him pertinently enough, diſmiſt him without an Alms, but would lay an Hundred Piſtoles that he was not a Native of *Cadillac*, as he ſaid he was. Thoſe Hyperbolical Gentlemen and Politicians in the Commonwealth of *Plato* are daily guilty of a Hundred Extravagancies of this kind; and there is nothing ſeems more eaſie to them than to govern the World, nor more commodious than to live according to their Philoſophy. Theſe Men commonly value inferior and mean Arguments at a great Rate; they have a vaſt Eſteem for Sophiſtries; they are very eaſie in believing ſuch Things as they would have to be ſo, and are not forward to entertain Solid Reaſoning: There are ſome Painters who do Wonders in Miniature, but the Pencil would fall out of their Hands, if they ſhould go about to paint large Pictures. Their Figures are all lame, and

their

their Contrivance ridiculous: However, they may perhaps have the good Fortune to pleaſe the Unskilful in the Noble Art of Painting, who commonly value the Red and Blue of bad Copies, more than the Shadowing of Admirable Originals: A Woodden Statue, well Guilt in a Cloſet, ſtrikes the Eye more than the dark Yellow of an Ingot, that is left careleſs on a Table, till there is an Opportunity to make uſe of it: A plain Argument, either written or ſpoke, does not make ſuch an Impreſſion upon weak Underſtandings, as a Piece of Sophiſtry that has a good Turn given it, or an Impertinent Story told with a good Grace, if told eſpecially by thoſe for whom we have a previous Eſteem and Affection.

It's certain, that the Expreſſions and Authority of thoſe who Communicate their Experiments, or their Arguments unto us, are great Helps to make us wiſe, and to attain to good Sence: But they are often very faulty; and our Error in Reckoning ought to be Corrected by a Repreſentation of the Species; and we ſhould our ſelves weigh thoſe Things that ſeem to be True, Juſt, and Expedient, and not refer them to the Judgment and Determination of another; we ſhould ſometimes loſe Sight of all Sorts of Authors, and not be for ever caſting up the Account with a Pen or Counters: We muſt lay Words and Authorities aſide, if we would look into Things, and make an immediate Repreſentation of them to our ſelves. *'Tis good to reaſon a little with our ſelves.*

We have very Fine Speculations of Juſtice, Politicks, Honour, Knowledge and Vertue, at our ſetting out from the Univerſity, according to the Inſtructions we have received from ſome Excellent Authors, who have eloquently treated of them; but when we have advanced a little farther into the World, we are amazed we do not find *Things are not the ſame in practice, as they are in the Abſtract.*

every

every thing in the same manner as had been represented to us when we learnt Ethicks; but Vertues taken from the Abstract, and applied to Individuals, suffer a great deal of Allay and Diminution: The Magistrate who holds the Ballance of Justice does not always keep his Eye fixed to the Interest of it: A Gentleman does not always keep his Word: The Learned cannot resolve all the Doubts we meet with; the wisest Politicians are not for ever free from Mistakes and the most Vertuous Persons do not constantly lead an unblameable Life.

We ought to strive for Perfection, tho' we cannot attain to it.

The Infirmity of Human Race is such, that 'tis to be met with in the greatest Men in the World: But this should not discourage us in the Pursuit of Vertue, nor divert us in our Applications to follow the finest Maxims of sound Sence, the most strict Rules of Honour, and the severest Laws of Justice: We must look high, to the End we may attain to some middling Degree of Elevation; for all these things are drawn downwards by our own Weight: Should we lay the best Qualities that are practised in the World exactly before our selves, in order to use them, we should find them at Second-hand much worse than they were before. We draw them from the Spring Head, we consider them in the Abstract, and yet when we come to make a particular Application of them, they will alter, and very suddenly corrupt: What then would they be if we should take them out of the Channel, where they are already corrupted, and draw them after an ill Copy?

Neither by the Truth of History.

Those who from the Reading of Fables and Romances apply their Minds to History, find themselves in a strange Country, where Things are not so agreeably set forth: For as to those who in their Time

Time are the Subject of Hiſtory, their Actions and Deſigns do not always ſuit well with the Genius and Inclinations of the Perſons that write them: We find Things are much better concerted in Romances than Hiſtory: For the Events proceed only from one Head, who brings them along to the End he aimed at: Whereas the Hiſtorian meets often with Croſs Matter, and ſuch as does not always pleaſe his Fancy. But if you paſs from Hiſtory to the Court, Camp, Bar, or ſome other Aſſembly, you meet ſtill with a greater Difference between Romance and Hiſtory. For tho' this laſt has a greater Foundation of Truth, and the Perſons, Places and Actions, ſet out therein, are not meerly Invention, yet the Method and Expreſſions are the labour only of one Man, who very frequently ſets off the Things he relates with greater Order and Management than really they were tranſacted. In a word, an Hiſtorian in Writing Forms a certain Deſign to himſelf: for Example, when he has a Mind to ſet forth, the manner by which a Favourite attained to the Miniſtry, and how he managed Affairs for ſo many Years, he recollects every thing he has heard ſaid upon that Subject, gets together all the Memoirs he can meet with; and having formed the reſt from the Conſequences, his Imagination ſuggeſted to him; he enters the Liſts, entertains us with an orderly and well-compacted Relation, and without any Interruption comes to the End of his Courſe. He removes all Obſtacles out of the Way, and ſtrews Roſes and Flowers where-ever he thinks fit: And yet perhaps what he ſo very boldly aſſerts for Truth comes much ſhort of it. No doubt but he is ignorant of many Things, the leaſt of which would give his Hiſtory another Face,

Face, and Truth is to be ſeen after the ſame manner in the Repreſentation he makes, as the Reſemblance of Perſons remains in thoſe baſe Pictures, wherein a Man, and ſome other Animal like him, are painted: The Lineaments both of the one and the other are to be ſeen there; but tho' you know them to be ſuch and ſuch, yet the Skill of the Painter has come ſhort in giving a true Portraiture of them: I dare ſay, in Caſe the chief Actors in Hiſtory were to come into the World again, to examine the Particulars, they would ſtrike out the greateſt Part of them; becauſe the moſt powerful Motives and true Cauſes, the hidden Reſorts, and ſecret Intrigues, the Temerity of unforeſeen Rencounters, and the Hazard of innumerable Incidences, give a Turn to the very Perſons themſelves, who do not ſtir from Court, and have ſome Share in the Management of Affairs.

Nor Philoſophical Conjectures. I do not know but we may find the ſame Gradation, that is between Romance and Truth, which paſſes for Hiſtory in our Philoſophy about the Senſible, Intelligible and Natural World. It is all Romantick from its Infancy; ſetting Things at too high a Price, and eaſily determining and reſolving the greateſt Difficulties in Nature: That Philoſophy we learn in the Schools, or read in Books, is more Hiſtorical, and does not ſo often ſtand in need of Miracles to reſolve its Problems by; makes a better Diſtinction between Things; and as we learn a great deal by it, we are at the ſame time given to underſtand that we are very ignorant in other Matters: But I am of Opinion there may be a much more terrible Diſtance between the Concluſions of this Sort of Philoſophy and Truth, than there is between Hiſtory and the real

real Subject of it; and the new Syſtems which the moſt Ingenious Phyſicians have entertained us with, amount to no more than their advancing by another Way ſome Paces farther than where their Maſters left them; and this very often ſerves us in no other Stead than to let us know the Uncertainty of the Accounts they have given us, the Defects of the Hypotheſis, and the Falſity of the Principles. But pardon me, Sir, I have proceeded too far, the Pleaſure I take in diverting you has carry'd me beyond the Bounds I firſt propoſed to my ſelf: As to the Subject Matter of Philoſophical Truths, which you are ſo deſirous to know, I muſt refer you to what I have argued before at Monſ. *de Montmor*'s: And as to Moral Virtue, which we cheriſh as much as we do other Truths, I'll give you an Account of what I have formed to my ſelf in my Cloſet, and which I believe I ſhall find among my Papers; for I have dived as deep as I could to diſcover the Nature of it.

Nor by the Subtilty of Mathematical Arguments.

However, let us conclude even with Geometry, that we muſt not puſh all Sorts of Things to the utmoſt, nor be always making uſe of the Subtilty we are capable of. *Philoſophandum paucis, nam omnino non bonum eſt:* For it ſeems to me, if every Body takes the Freedom to argue as ſubtilty as he can, you will find it on the other Hand impoſſible to act in all Things purſuant to this Subtilty. Hence it is that Mathematical Speculations cannot always be put in Practice in Mechaniſm, nor reſolve all the Queſtions, or demonſtrate all the Theorems that are propoſed by them. And without doubt One of our Friends *Mr.* Hobbs was well aware of this, and therefore went about to

to lay down new Principles of Geometry, and to introduce new Definitions too. For as he has obſerved, that thoſe of *Euclid* are not ſatisfactory in all Reſpects; and that when you take a ſtrait Line and bend it, or a crooked Line to make it ſtrait, you cannot retain the Meaſure, nor know the Proportion of it; he was of Opinion that the Defect proceeded from the Definition given of this Dimenſion: Inſomuch, that inſtead of ſaying a Line is long, and not broad, he allows of ſome very little breadth, of no manner of Account, unleſs it be upon very few Occaſions: In ſhort, 'tis in the Solution of Problems, that have hitherto remained inſoluble, that 'tis of uſe; ſuch as the ſquaring of a Circle, and doubling a Cube. The Argument was about the indiviſible Line of the Mathematicians, which is a meer Chimera, of which we can have no Idea; whereas in reaſoning about that of our *Archimedes*, ſome Repreſentation of which our Fancy does ſuggeſt to us, the Loſs is diſcovered which a ſtrait Line ſuſtains, in being made crooked; and you may perceive the Variation which in the convex Part happens to the Points that give it ſome breadth. This does not hinder us to obſerve the Proportion of theſe Lines, the Loſs that is ſuſtained in ſome or other of its Minute Parts (which does not happen upon other Occaſions, and even in this Caſe cannot be computed,) being not ſo conſiderable, that we may ſay, we do not know the Meaſure of them, at leaſt-wiſe as exactly as 'tis poſſible to demonſtrate the ſame: And this, Sir, is enough to ſhew you whether it be convenient at all times to uſe all the Subtilty of Reaſoning we are capable of about every thing; and whether

a Man

a Man can always promiſe to act in Conformity to all this Subtilty. This, it ſeems, neither the Practice of the World in Civil Society, nor that Converſe by Way of Hiſtory which we have with thoſe who are no longer in Being, neither the Knowledge of Natural Things and Cauſes, nor Mathematical Reaſons can allow of.

The Elogies of ſome Learned Men.

I do not doubt, Sir, but you will be much pleaſed to hear me give an Account of ſome Learned Perſons, whom I viſited in this my laſt Journey: But becauſe I have formerly entertained Monſ. *de Bautru* with ſomewhat of this Nature; I ſhould make too great an Excurſion if I ſhould take upon me to Communicate my Thoughts to you concerning the *Wickefort*'s, *Graſwinkell*'s, *Voſſius*'s, *Van Beninghen*'s, *Aitſma*'s, *Horne*'s, *Ryckward*'s, *Bornius*'s, *Huddes*'s, and ſeveral other Excellent Perſons in all Faculties, who are my Old Acquaintance: And therefore I ſhall only ſay a few Words about Two Perſons whom I admired at *Liege* and *Cologn*.

The Nuncio at Cologn.

One of them is the Nuncio *Marcus Gallius*, Biſhop of *Arimini*, Brother to the Duke of *Aviti*, a *Milaneze*, of the Family of St. *Charles Boromeo*. This Prelate, beſides his Piety and Love of Learning, is a Man of admirable Prudence, great Knowledge and Elocution, and very curious in the Choice of good Books: Beſides which I found him to be a Perſon full of Wit and Goodneſs. I have no Reaſon to doubt but in Time I ſhall Congratulate him upon being dignified with the Purple, which his great Virtue juſtly merits: But he can never attain to it as ſoon as I could wiſh. The other Learned Perſon

M. Rene Francis Sluyze.

Perſon is Monſ. *Rene Francis de Sluyze*, a Canon of St. *Lambert*, the Cathedral of *Liege*, a Man of great Accompliſhments every Way: He is about Forty Years of Age, of a Noble Family, Beautiful Countenance, has ſeen the World, is much honoured by his Prince, and whoſe vaſt Skill in Languages, in the Civil and Canon Law, as alſo in the Mathematicks, can never diveſt him of that Modeſty, which is ſo very natural to him: I occaſioned a ſmall Controverſie between him and Mr. *Hobbs*, about doubling the Cube, which the latter thought he had found out by his new Principle of Geometry; and the Method I have touched upon in my laſt Digreſſion; and as I laid the Demonſtration thereof before Monſ. *de Sluyze*, he imagined he had preſently detected a fallacious Syllogiſm in it, which was the Cauſe of exchanging of ſome Letters upon the Subject; and I hope the Curious will not take it ill if I publiſh them one time or other, together with what Meſſieurs *de Carcani* and *de Fermat* can ſay, in relation to it. I was charmed with the Friendſhip of theſe Two Great Men, which put me upon ſeeing *Liege* and *Cologn*; and would willingly have purchaſed it by a much more troubleſome and longer Journey, than 'tis from *Philipville*, by the Way of *Dinant*, *Namur* and *Huy*, to *Liege*, from whence, I told you, I went down to *Holland*; for 'tis another Sort of a Way from *Liege*, to *Sedan*, through the Forreſt of *Ardenne*, which is difficult to croſs, and by which I returned to *France*: You may well gueſs at it, Sir, by the Road to *Rocroy* and *Mariemburg*, ſo that you will not at all wonder that I ſhould take a little Reſt with my Friends at *Rheims*; where having Lei-

Diſpute about doubling of a Cube.

He arrives at Rheims.

Leiſure to reviſe my Journal, I have given my ſelf the Diverſion to make a Relation of it to you according to your Commands, for which I muſt humbly thank you; for I had a great deal of Pleaſure in going over the Things again, in travelling a ſecond time, and in recollecting ſeveral Things, that perhaps I might have forgot, concerning the Value of which I have nothing to ſay to you: It's enough for me to aſſure you that I wrote nothing but what is true, and that I am with the utmoſt Affection,

SIR,

Rheims, Oct. 25*th.* *Your moſt Humble and moſt Obedient Servant,*

SORBIERE.

H AN

OBSERVATIONS
ON
Monſ. *de Sorbiere's* Voyage
INTO
ENGLAND.

Written to Dr. *WREN*, Profeſſor of Aſtronomy in *Oxford.*

By *THOMAS SPRAT*, Fellow of the Royal-Society.

Sed poterat tutior eſſe Domi.

LONDON:
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OBSERVATIONS

ON

ENGLAND.

A LETTER, containing some Observations on Monſ. de Sorbiere's *Voyage into* ENGLAND.

SIR,

I Here ſend you the Account which Monſ. *de Sorbiere* has given of his Voyage into *England*; and though it be an Inſolent Libel on our Nation, yet I doubt not but you will peruſe it with Delight. For when you have beheld how many Errors and Falſhoods he has committed in this ſmall Relation, you cannot but be pleas'd to find, that whoever undertakes to defame your Country, he muſt at the ſame time forfeit his Wit, and his Underſtanding, as well as his good Manners.

The King of *France* has already given him an effectual Anſwer. And it became the Juſtice of ſo great a Monarch, while he was defending the Intereſt of Faith with his Arms, to puniſh a pragmatical Reviler of one of the moſt powerful Kingdoms in Chriſtendom: And while he was exacting Satisfaction from the Pope himſelf, for an Affront offer'd to his Ambaſſador, to take Care that none of his own Subjects ſhould preſume to injure the Reputation of his Neighbours, and neareſt Allies.

This Just Reply which has been publickly made to this Rude Satyr, was the Cause that it has not been hitherto confuted by an *English* Gentleman of your Acquaintance, who had undertaken it, whose Wit we might have oppos'd against him, if he had still flourish'd at *Paris*, with the Title of *Historiographer Royal*, though all his mighty Boasts of his own Abilities had been true. But however, though he is now below our Excellent Friends Consideration, yet I think my self engaged to see him corrected. For having now under my Hands the History of the *Royal Society*, it will be in vain for me to try to represent its Design to be Advantageous to the Glory of *England*, if my Countrymen shall know that one who calls himself a Member of that *Assembly* has escaped unanswered in the publick Disgraces which he has cast on our whole Nation.

I will therefore, Sir, briefly take him into a calm Examination; and that you may understand how I intend to proceed with him, I do here in the Beginning profess, that I will not vindicate the Honour of the *English* by making Reflections on the *French*. I will not endeavour to repair our own Fame on the Ruins of others. I have no Contention but with himself. I will only put together, and compare the Mistakes, the Incoherences, the Vanities of his Book. And (to confess a Secret to you, Sir,) I am resolved to take this Course in answering him; not only because I abhor the Sordid Way of Wit, of abusing whole Nations, but also because I am not much inamour'd of the Glory of his Punishment. For I cannot think that it is worth a Man's while, that can live quietly here at *London*, to have the Honour of making Three or Four Ill-natur'd Jests on a whole Kingdom, with the hazard of being justly

juſtly baniſh'd into ſome remote Country for one's Labour.

I muſt confeſs, Sir, I came at firſt to read him him with ſome Expectations. I had before ſeen what he had Written in Praiſe of thoſe Two Great Men, the Ornaments of *France*, *Gaſſendus*, and *De Marca*, the Archbiſhop of *Paris*. And I had ſome good hope that the Familiarity which he pretended to have had with them had taught him ſome of their good Qualities: That from the firſt he had taken that Candour and Modeſty which the World admires in his Writings: And from the other he had learned, with what reſpect he ought to treat the Fame of whole Nations, Churches, and Sovereign Princes, by that Admirable Defence which he has made of the *Gallican* Priviledges. Beſides this, Sir, I took his Book into my Hands with the greater Goodwill, becauſe I had ſome Knowledge of his Perſon. I had been informed what Kindneſs he had received at *Oxford*: I had heard what Favour the King had ſhewn him, by admitting him to private Diſcourſes with him in his Cabinet. And from all this I was encouraged to believe that he had given an Honourable, or at leaſt a Juſt, Deſcription of *England*. But I quickly perceiv'd how much I was diſappointed: I preſently ſaw what Difference there is between Scribbling Fine Harangues on Virtuous Men, and real Virtue itſelf. I ſtraight found, that inſtead of the *good Intentions*, *which, he ſays, he never wants*, the greateſt Part of his Treatiſe conſiſts of ill grounded Reproaches: That he has ventur'd on many Things, whereof it was impoſſible he ſhould receive an Account: That where he might be ſuppos'd to have ſome tolerable Knowledge, his Malice has perverted his Underſtanding: And that *Pref.*

through the whole Course of his Observations, he has by his own Example make good that Character, which he often in this Book bestows on Humane Nature in general, *That Mankind is most pleas'd with Trifles, and that we are all Credulous, and Liars.*

In his *Epistle Dedicatory* he assures the *most Christian King*, that *the most Principal Motive of his Journey was a Desire to advance his Majesty's Glory.* The Design was Commendable, and Worthy an *Historiographer Royal.* But what Course did he take to increase his Renown? He says, *That he travelled Abroad on purpose to spread throughout the World the Fame of his Majesty's Munificence to himself.* I beseech you, Sir, how long will your *English* Modesty overwhelm you? How much Reason have you Real Philosophers, and Mathematicians, to have good Thoughts of your selves, if it be allow'd to a Man, who has only got some Name by creeping into your Companies, to believe himself so Considerable, that his Master's Liberality to him ought to make all Mankind admire his Magnificence? The Christian World has better Signs of the Greatness of the King of *France*'s Mind; his Armies and Money have been Honourably imployed against *Algiers* and *Constantinople.* Amidst all these Glorious Expences what a mighty Sound does it make, that *the Famous Monsieur* de Sorbiere *did receive a small Stipend out of his Treasury?*

But that you may the better understand who this great Man is, that can either exalt or diminish the Honour of Princes with a Word of his Mouth, I intreat you to hear his own Description of himself. I will only repeat, in his own Words, the Praises, which in the compass of a few Leaves, he has given his own Merits; by which you may

guess

gueſs how unjuſtly he has miſplac'd the Titles of Proud and Arrogant, when he beſtowed them on one of the beſt Natured and Baſhfulneſs Nations in the World. He brags, *That he has ſpent all his Life in advancing the Reputation, and ſuſtaining the Intereſts of the Sciences: That he has always puſh'd on and incouraged the Great Maſters of Knowledge to labour: That he has made a Noiſe where-ever he came: That he has got Diſcretion how to judge of good Things: That he has mingled himſelf in the Intrigues of the Muſes: That he has been ſo happy as to be heard by them, and to get ſome Credit amongſt them: That he holds a conſtant Commerce with the Chief Heads of* Parnaſſus: *That he has either been acquainted with all the Learned Men of the Age, or has had certain Information concerning them: That his King did not favour him without Underſtanding him well.*

P. 55. E. Ded. E. Ded. E. Ded. E. Ded. E. Ded. Pref. E. Ded.

Now, Sir, would not any Man that reads this conclude that *Monſieur de Sorbiere* is his own *Hiſtorian* more than the King of *France*'s? Is this comformable to his own Rule, which he ſays *he preſcribes to himſelf, not to make Elogies on any Man*? Before he had dar'd to have ſaid ſo much of himſelf, ought he not to have exceeded *Julius Scaliger* in his Learning, and his Nobility, as well as he had done in his Spite to our Country? Whereas the plain and the true Story of *Monſieur de Sorbiere*'s Life is only this; he was Born at *Orange*, and for a long time profeſs'd the *Proteſtant Religion*. All or the greateſt part of his Writings have been only ſome few Letters, a ſmall Panegyrick or Two, a Tranſlation of Mr. *Hobbes*'s *de Cive* into *French*, *this Deſcription of England*, and another of *Holland*. His Firſt Imployment was to teach a younger Son of the *Count de la Suze*, then he was made Uſher to a

P. 38.

School

School in his Native City. Both these Places he lost upon Suspicion of some Heterodox Opinions in the Fundamentals of *Christianity*. In this Discontent he came to *Paris*, renounc'd his Religion, and turned Papist; and at last, by many Insinuations and Flatteries, he obtained to have the Profits of a small *Cannonship of Avignon* settled on him. This, Sir, is all the *Brute* that *Monsieur de Sorbiere* has made in the World. And this Confident of the *Muses*, this Darling of *Parnassus*, this Favourite of Cardinals, this Companion of Governours of Provinces, this Censurer of Nations, this Judge of Kings, though he strove to advance himself by *Two Religions*, in the One did never rise to a higher Office than of a Pedant, in the other never got a greater Preferment than a pitiful *Sine Cure of Two Hundred Crowns a Year*.

And that you have no Reason to think that he has been wanting to himself all this while, seeing in this very *Epistle* you find him in plain
E. Ded. Terms *beseeching his Majesty that he would employ him.* 'Tis a modest Request. But what other Place is that which he can desire? He says,
E. Ded. *That he has already been Glorified with the Title of Trumpeter.* After this whither would
E. Ded. his Ambition lead him? *In this Warfare of Letters* (give me leave to prosecute his own Metaphor) the Name of *Trumpeter* best becomes him. For (according to his *Brother Trumpeter's* Defence of himself in the Fable) it is never required of such Officers that they should ingage in the Fight, or do any real Service, but they are only us'd for a Show, and to make a Noise.

As for his other Qualification of *Historiographer Royal*, I will shew you in one Instance how
E. Ded. he deserves it. He tells his King, *That he has reported*

reported in every Country where he came the prodigious Benefits that Heaven has heap'd on him: That *to the Statesmen he has proclaimed his Industry in Business, and the Strength of his Judgment: To the Soldiers his Valour: To the Friends of the Church of* Rome *his Piety: To the Grandees the Pomp of his Court: And to the Fair Sex his Mien.* These, Sir, are all Brave Words, and he had a Glorious Subject whereon to amplifie. But let us consider the Authority of his Testimony: For *Monsieur de Sorbiere*, the King's Historiographer, when he might have had so much better Intelligence, when he might have alledged the Witness of all the Brave Men in *France*, does yet openly declare, *That he received the Image of his own Prince's Vertues from the Report of Madam* Fiennes, *a Lady whom he met with accidentally at* Calais. P. 3.

Upon the very entrance of his Journey, as soon as he sets forth from *Paris*, he gives Evident Proofs of the Lightness and Vanity of his Mind. From what he had said before in his own Commendation, I began to fancy in my Thoughts, a grave Philosopher, going forth with the Intent to survey all Civil States, that he might bring back their profitable Arts, and enrich his Native Country with them. I called to mind the Examples of *Pythagoras*, *Solon*, *Thales*, *Plato*, and almost all the first Wise Men amongst the *Græcians*, who were wont to make long Voyages into *Ægypt*, and the East, for such Honourable Purposes; and upon this Thought I was inclined to forgive him all his former Boastings, and to look on them only as pardonable Imperfections, which sometimes accompany Great Wits. And hence, Sir, you may think how much I was surpriz'd when I saw the first Fruits of his Travels *were an Account of the pleasant*

P. 2. *sant Company that he had on the Way, of certain Polacks, that spoke* Latin, *that could play on the Violin, and that gave him a Dance Twice a Day.* But hold, Sir, I will not give him this Occasion to confirm the Sentence which he has past upon us, that the *English are of a Gloomy, Extravagant, Fanatick, Melancholly Humour*; I am content to allow him these Divertisements. It was fit that he who went forth to Civilize Barbarous Nations, should be attended, as they were of Old, with Harmony. Yet you cannot but be delighted when you observe the Choice that he made: That he who undertook to Censure and Refine Manners, and Promote Inventions, he who talks of nothing less than Intrigues with the *Muses*, should find nothing worth mentioning in his Journey from *Paris* to *Calais*, but the Musick, and the Dancing of *Poland*. Seeing his Skill is so good in One of the Liberal Arts, seeing he was so well satisfied in *France* itself with a Fiddle of *Cracaw*, or *Warsaw*, I wonder he would come into *England* to search for Philosophy, and had not rather gone to the Famous University of *Moscow*.

And yet, Sir, to speak the Truth, I can easily pardon *Monsieur de Sorbiere*'s Affection to a *Polish* Jig. This is not the worst thing in which he has express'd his Inclination to that Country. He was turned out of his School at *Orange* for being a *Socinian*, and therefore we may well allow him to be an *Heretick* in their Musick, seeing he was so in their Divinity.

P. 23. In this Jolly Posture he arrives at *Calais*. In the same Inn lay Madam *Fiennes*. *She was invited the next Day to Dinner by Monsr.* de Courtebonne. *Monsr.* de Sorbiere *waits on her thither. The Entertainment pleas'd him. For this he commends*

commends his Hoſt for one of the moſt Accompliſh'd and Obliging Gentlemen in France. *And he profeſſes he thought himſelf bound in Conſcience to make him this Publick Acknowledgment.* What is to be blam'd in all this? What could be more courtly? What a greater Sign of a Scrupulous and Tender Conſcience, than to believe himſelf ſo much engag'd to be grateful for a good Potage? What greater Recompence could a Royal Trumpeter make to Monſ. *de Courtebonne* than thus to ſound up his Meat? Hitherto all is well. But now, Sir, I pray recollect whether he deals ſo fairly and religiouſly with your Fellow-Profeſſor, Dr. *Wallis?* To whom, for all his good Cheer, for a hearty Welcome, for ſhewing him the Univerſity of *Oxford*, for imparting to him many Curioſities, which he himſelf confeſſes *were Admirable*, he has return'd no other *Thanks than only a ridiculous Deſcription of his Cap.* P. 38. P. 41.

At his landing at *Dover* he was ſaluted with ill Language by the Boys. Methinks the *handſome Entertainment that he met with there at his Return might have mov'd him to conceal this ill Uſage*; though the Matter itſelf, at the worſt, was not worth ſpeaking of; for he might have conſider'd that it is an ordinary thing for Boys not to have any great Kindneſs for School-Maſters: Yet hence he takes Occaſion to inveigh againſt *the Rudeneſs of the whole* Engliſh *Nation.* I have already, Sir, engaged my ſelf to forbear Compariſons, or elſe I might perhaps very juſtly contradict what he ſays, *That the* Engliſh *are always welcom'd at* Diep *and* Calais *with ſo much obliging Care.* We are indeed with Care enough; for the Inhabitants of thoſe Places ſeize on every Part of us, ſome catch our Cloaks, ſome our Hats, ſome our Portmantua's, and P. 6. P. 7. P. 6. P. 6.

when

when we are by Piece-meals brought to Shore, our officious Friends demand their own Rates for having thus oblig'd us; so that sometimes we can scarce know whether we should call it a Landing, or a Wreck. This, Sir, is more than a verbal Incivility; yet I make no Conclusion from hence against the *French* Nation, but only against the Porters and Mariners of *Diep* and *Calais*. And the same Right ought Monsr. *de Sorbiere* to have done us. He should not have presently exclaim'd against the whole Kingdom, for that which is only to be attributed to the ill Discipline of *Dover* School. This, Sir, may serve to give you some Light what kind of Judge we are like to find him in Matters of greater Weight: And when you read, *That he alledges*
P. 5. *no other Sign of the* English *Courage, than that their Butchers are delighted with the Noble Combats of Bulls, Bears and Dogs:* I hope you will remember, that it is the same Man who is here wise enough to pass a *General Rule* concerning the *English Ill Manners, from the Rude Behaviour of the Children of one of our Sea-Towns.*

Yet, to do him Right in this Particular, he does not cast all the Blame on the *English*, but
P. 6. he involves the *Dutch* and *Italians* in the same common Crime. He here complains, that as we
P. 6. call the *Frenchmen* Dogs, so the *Dutch* upbraid them with the Opprobrious Name of Mushrooms, and the *Italians* with the worse Term of Fools. For my part I think all this by no Means to be justify'd if the Accusation be true. But however, how does this consist with
Ep. Ded. that Flattery which he uses to his King, *That where ever he came he found the whole World ready to submit to the* French *Empire?* What says he now? Is it probable that all Nations

are

are willing to make *France* the Seat of an Universal Monarchy, when at the same time he assures us from his own Experience, *That the usual Titles which their Neighbours bestow on them, are those of Dogs, Fools, and Mushrooms?*

The next Part of his Journey is from *Dover* to *London*. His Error about the Distance between these Two Places I forgive, though in *Three-score Miles he mistakes Ten.* All the Evil Touches which he here gives concerning the Disposition of the *English* I reserve for their proper Place. But I must take Notice how particularly the Historiographer Royal describes the Waggoner of *Canterbury*. *The Horses were ty'd one before another, the Driver cloath'd in Black, a brave Mounteero on his Head, a jocund Fellow, mighty well satisfy'd with himself, a great Droll, in all Things appointed like another St.* George. What think you now, Sir? May we not after this believe that *Tom Coriat* is One of the chief Heads of *Parnassus*, with whom he has convers'd? Where lyes the Difference between these Two Learned Authors? That Famous Countryman of ours was just so curious in his Relations; neither Horse nor Man could escape his Pen; on his Host's Beard and Sign-post he still declaim'd: Here are only wanting the *Frenchman*'s Bills of Fare every Night, and you might have sworn that Mons. *de Sorbiere* had inherited the Great and Inquisitive Spirit of the Noble Traveller of *Odcomb.*

P. 3.

P. 7.

I will not here much insist on the Irreverence of this Zealous *Roman* Catholick, as we shall afterwards find him to be; though methinks it was not well done of him to object to the *English their calling St.* Paul *by the familiar Name of* Paul, when he himself *has compar'd One of our chief*

P. 42.

chief Saints to a Waggoner. Nor am I much concern'd to see him so punctual in describing the Waggoner of *Canterbury* to his Shirt, and yet not to make any Mention of *Thomas Becket*, and *Austin* the Monk, the Renowned Saints of that Place. But yet I will here tell him, that though he was so careless of his Religion, he might have conceal'd the Character of the Waggoner upon another Account: For he will hardly be able to perswade his Reader, that the best
P. 7. Way *to spread the Report of the Magnificence of his Patron*, was to ride to *London* in a Waggon.

But to give you farther Evidence of the Solidity of his Humour. In all the Road between *London* to *Dover* he forgets not to enlarge upon every thing that he saw, except only that which is One of the *braveſt Spectacles* in the World.
P. 11. He is very exact in surveying the *Bay-Windows* of *Canterbury*. He fully describes the *Bowling-*
P. 9. *Greens, and the very Rowlers that make them*
P. 9. *smooth*. He speaks so Romantically of the *Valleys*, the *Hills*, and the *Hedges* of *Kent*, that the Authors of *Clelia*, or *Astrea*, scarce ever venture to say so much on the like Occasion. *He com-*
P. 12. *mends the convenient Form of* Rochester *Bridge*; *which he says is so contriv'd, that Mens Hats cannot be blown over.* Who can deny but in all this he is a very Circumstantial and Faithful Relator? But I pray, Sir, mark, that he spends very many more Lines in speaking of each of those Toys, than of the most Magnificent Arsenal at *Chatham*, which lyes just below that Bridge. Of this he only in passing says, *That here our Ships of War*
P. 12. *are built, and here they are laid up when they return.* And has he not here unawares betray'd the Levity of his own Mind? Where then was his Philosophical Curiosity? Where his Discretion

tion to know good Things? Where his Love for Great and Wonderful Arts? What was a fitter Proſpect to have ſtopp'd at? Where could the antient or preſent World have ſhewn a nobler Sight? For there, in one View, he might have ſeen the Ships that command the Ocean: That make this ſmall People that he deſpiſes terrible to the Ends of the Earth. We confeſs we yield to the *French* in the Beauty of their Cities, and Palaces, but in our floating Caſtles we outgo them as much. He is in the right that about *Paris* there is a far greater number of Buildings: But the Suburbs which *London* has on the *Thames* and *Medway* make a ſufficient Recompence for this defect. As long as we exceed all the World in the Fabricks of Strength and Empire, we may eaſily allow him to object to us our want of thoſe of Pleaſure. And without queſtion, the *Sovereign*, the *Charles*, the *Prince*, the *James*, the *Henry*, the *London*, the *Reſolution*, and above an hundred more, the beſt in the World, might have been thought worthy naming by him, that almoſt reckons up the Windows and the Cellars in *Canterbury*, and expreſſes himſelf ſo well ſatisfy'd to ſee, that *there was Care taken that a Plume of Feathers ſhould not be diſorder'd upon* Rocheſter *Bridge*.

In his Deſcription of *London* he affirms, *That it is bigger than* Paris; *and that it is a vulgar Errour of his Countrymen to think otherwiſe.* P. 13. And to manifeſt how vaſt he believes its Extent to be, he profeſſes, *That he would not undertake to frame an exact Idea of it in his Mind under a whole Year's time.* P. 15. This, Sir, methinks might have admoniſh'd him, that if he was not able to take a full Draught of our City in leſs than Twelve Months, he has been very preſumptuous

(let me return upon him his own Word) to conceive that he could give a Character of the Genius and Vices of our Nation, of the Constitution and Corruptions of our Church, of the Weaknesses of our Government, of the Pedantry of our Learning, and of the Barbarousness of our Language, in Three Months time. This Consideration ought certainly to have stopp'd his Pen a little, especially seeing the Streets and Alleys of *London* stand still, and represent themselves always in the same Fashion; to our Eyes, and it is enough to know them perfectly only to Travel them often through: Whereas it is so intricate a Work to take a right Prospect of the Manners of Men, the Humours of Nations, and the Secrets of Princes Counsels, that it is perhaps the most difficult Employment of Human Wit.

'Tis true indeed, he endeavours to fetch a Justification of his Insolence from the *English* themselves: But the *Apology* which he makes rather aggravates his *Offence*. He says, *he is confident that if he writ in our own Language he*
P. 4. *should not displease us.* And he gives this Reason for it, that the *English have often caus'd their*
P. 4. *Character to be publish'd; and that they have this peculiar good Quality, that they love to have themselves handled plainly, and ill-spoken of.* This he professes *to mention in our Praise.* And if this be his Courtesie, I now find that the Passengers with him in the Waggon had Reason when (as he complains) *they interpreted his ve-*
P. 8. *ry Civilities for Affronts.* But hold, Sir, what is this that he here says? Has the *English* Nation ever caus'd its Character to be Printed? He speaks of it as if it had been a thing done by Act of Parliament, and by the Authority of the whole State. 'Tis true, Sir, there was (as you may perhaps

perhaps remember) a ſmall Pamphlet, that came out with the Title of the Character of *England*, about Six Years ago, but that was pretended to be a Tranſlation out of *French*. Or let us ſuppoſe that it was an *Engliſhman* that writ it under that Diſguiſe ; yet has Monſieur *de Sorbiere* from thence any ground to ſay that the whole *Engliſh* Nation has often printed its own Character? I will give him one Inſtance to ſhew how abſurdly he did thus conclude, from one particular Man, to a whole Country. Monſieur *de Sorbiere*, in his Book of Letters, has inſerted (as he calls it) a Sceptical Diſcourſe concerning the City of *Paris*; wherein he uſes the Metropolis of all *France* almoſt as injuriouſly as he does the *Engliſh* in this Relation, with Language as foul as the Dirt of *Paris* itſelf. Now then, becauſe Monſieur *de Sorbiere*, a private Inhabitant of *Paris*, has preſum'd to ſlander it in that manner, does it become me to affirm that the whole City of *Paris* has written a ſcandalous Libel on itſelf?

But perhaps by this Inſtance which I have here mention'd Monſieur *de Sorbiere* will raiſe an Argument that ſhall be very much to his own advantage. For now he will be ready to ſay, that the *Engliſh* have no great Reaſon to take his Affronts unkindly, ſeeing he has been already ſo free of his Corrections and Reproofs, as not to ſpare his own Countrymen themſelves. I accept of his Apology. 'Tis *Pietatis plena Defenſio* : 'Tis an excellent good-natur'd Defence, for his railing againſt Strangers, that he has done the ſame before againſt his own Fellow-Citizens.

But to return to the *English* Book, which he proposes as his Patern; seeing we have but one Libel in our Language against a whole Countrey in general, let us permit the Historiographer Royal to imitate it. Yet I cannot imagine how
P. 8. he came to understand that Book alone, when he professes that he was utterly ignorant of the *English Tongue* in all things else. It seems that Reviling and Satyr is so natural to his Mind, that he is able to conceive the Sense of it, though the Language in which it is written be never so much unknown to him. However, if we compare the Times of their Publication, we shall find that there is a great distinction between the Crimes of the *English*, and the *French* Satyrist. The first of these was publish'd during the Tyranny of the late Usurpers: And though it was very severe on the *English* in many Passages, yet the greatest part was spoken with a good Intention, in reproof of the miserable Distractions of that Age, and the many ill Customs which a long Civil War had introduc'd. I beg of you now, Sir, to consider by what an Example he clears himself. Because there was one Satyr written on our Nation, in a time of Licentiousness, and Confusion, he will second it now with a Worse, when we are settled in Peace and Prosperity. Seeing he thinks this Plea sufficient for what he says against the Manners of the *English*, that an *Englishman* did the same under *Oliver*, or *Richard*, I would have him also defend himself in all his Slanders on our Court, and the King's Ministers, with an Argument that will resemble the other. For why may he not assert, that it is lawful for him now to use such Liberty, because *Milton* was allow'd by the *Rump* to write a Villanous

a Villainous Book againſt the late King of Bleſſed Memory?

This weak excuſe therefore, Sir, that he makes for his Barbarous way of handling us, ſhall not ſerve his Turn. He is ſo far from having receiv'd Incouragement from the *Engliſh*, that I can ſhew him ſeveral Volumes of the Voyages of ſome of our Countrymen into *Ruſſia*, *Perſia*, *Egypt*, the *Turkiſh Empire*, the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *America*, which have given a more advantageous Account of thoſe Infidels and Barbarians, than he has done of the moſt Polite Countries in *Europe*. The *Engliſh* have deſcrib'd and illuſtrated all Parts of the Earth by their Writings; many they have diſcover'd, they have viſited all. And I dare aſſure him, that they have been always moſt tender of the Reputation of Foreign States, which they have gone to viſit, as they have been moſt merciful in ſparing the Natives Blood in thoſe Countries which they diſcover'd.

Let us now behold how *Monſieur de Sorbiere* has conformed himſelf to this generous *Engliſh* Spirit. I will give you in a ſhort View ſome of the good Terms that he has beſtowed on our Nation in general. He ſays, *That we have skimmed all the Vices, and diſdain'd the Vertues of other Countries*: P. 5. *That we contemn all the reſt of the World*: P. 46. *That we eſteem all Mankind beſides miſerable*: P. 46. *That we ſcorn to look on them, or to ſpeak to them, when they travel hither*: *That we frequently menace and inſult over our Neighbours*: P. 5. *That it is very hard to know how to get our good Will*: P. 55. *That we have a ſtrong Union amongſt our ſelves againſt Strangers*: P. 11. *That we regard the Proſperity of others with an Evil Eye*: *That we have a Natural Inclination to Idleneſs, to Preſumption, to a certain Extravagance of*

Thoughts, which is to be found in our most
P 4. *Excellent Writings: That almost all the* English
are guilty of these Faults, because they proceed
P. 4. *from our Soyl: That our Humour is too* Free *and*
P. 62. *Arrogant: That we are Voracious and* Luxurious:
P. 50. *That we submit to any that will fill our Bellies;*
P. 8. *let us Rail, and will not disturb our Slothfulness:*
P. 46 *That we are Scoffers, and Malicious Speakers: That*
P. 47. *we are very Irregular and Suspicious: That we*
are fill'd with dark Thoughts: That we are Fierce
and Capricious: That we have a Melancholy pe-
culiar to us: That if we once get Necessaries to
support Life, our Idleness makes us Careless of a-
ny more: That there are everywhere Do-littles,
P. 8. *Proud and Fanatick Persons to be met with: That*
there is nothing so couching as an Englishman,
P. 9. *if once you can find the Means to make him a-*
fraid: That if you take away their Insolence
you take away their Courage: And that they make
but one Leap from the greatest Huff of Pride
into the basest Cowardice.

He has wearied me, Sir, and I can follow him no further, in heaping up such ignominious Trash. He acknowledges that *England* is better known than any other Part of the World, by the *Britannia* of the most Learned Mr *Cambden*; and it is happy for us that it is so. For if Foreigners should have nothing else to direct them concerning us but this Fair *Idea* which he has here given, I suppose they would Travel hither with the same caution as we do into *Greenland* to fish for Whales, they would only touch upon our Shores, and stand upon their guard at every Noise, lest the wild Bears should surprize them unawares. I intreat you to recal into your Mind the Description which *Cæsar* makes of the Salvage Manners of this Island, at the

the time that he conquer'd *Gaul* and *Britain* together; you will find that *Monſieur de Sorbiere* is leſs mild in his Expreſſions on us now than that Great Conqueror was on the Untaught and Original Inhabitants, that liv'd in Foreſts, and painted their Bodies, to make them appear more dreadful. Whatever Reflections had been made on our Imperfections, we might perhaps have patiently receiv'd them from the Hands of the Maſter of *Rome*, that had civiliz'd us; and it may be too from one of his Trumpeters, ſo he had been a *Roman:* But we cannot from a School-Maſter of *Orange*, from a Trumpeter of *Little-Britain*, from a Man that came hither to pick up Preſents of Gloves, and Ribbons, and (as he himſelf confeſſes) *to collect ſome certain Debts that were here owing to his Friends.* P. 67.

When I firſt, Sir, beheld all this good Language which he has given us, I did preſently caſt about and examine what might be the Cauſe of his Rage; and at laſt I had from one of his Acquaintance Intimation enough to gueſs why he was pleas'd to be thus incens'd. When he return'd from his ſecond Viſit to the King, this Gentleman ask'd him how his Majeſty had receiv'd him? He reply'd, kindly enough; he expected he would have preſented him with ſome Medal. This, Sir, was the Provocation, and this was the Occaſion, that made him lay about terribly. What Indignation can be great enough againſt ſuch Baſeneſs? Are theſe Writers of Letters, and Flatteries, and Romances, ſuch dangerous men? Muſt the King of *England* deal with them as ſome petty Bordering Princes are forc'd to do with the *Turk?* Muſt he Buy them off, and pay Tribute to them, leſt they ſhould invade his Territories at their Pleaſure? *Monſieur*

de Sorbiere, Sir, is a Man of ripe Age; he pretends to have been familiar with Embassadors, Generals, and Nuntios; he lays Claim to the Title of Philosopher, and to the most generous Sect of Philosophy; he tells us he is a Sceptick. But did he ever yet hear of an Example of a Philosopher that preferr'd a petty Gift before the Sweetness and the Obligation of so Great and so Magnanimous a Prince's Conversation? It has indeed been told us that some Philosophers of old have transgress'd on the contrary, and have refused the Bounty of Monarchs, that they might preserve the liberty of their Minds; but in all History there can be no such Instance shewn, that a Man should forfeit his Truth and Honesty for the want of a Medal, unless it be of him that first renounc'd his Conscience, and chang'd his Religion, to obtain a Pension.

In answer to these Calumnies with which he has aspersed us, I will only in plain and simple Terms say as much as may confute his Reproaches, but I will not set upon a long and a solemn Panegyrick of our own Nation: For it is not my Business here to paint, but only to wash.

The first Slander, of which I shall take notice, he pretends to be a Proverbial Speech; that we have despis'd all the good, and skimm'd all the bad, of other People. As for the first part of it, whether we have scorn'd all the good Qualities of others, I am content to have try'd by his own
P 5. Words. He grants that in very many things we imitate the Magnanimous Spirit of the Antient *Romans*. And if we have been so careful to learn Vertue, from an Empire that was long ago at an end, how could he imagine that we contemn all that is commendable in the Living? I thank him that he has resembled us to the greatest

greateſt Men of all Antiquity: But in the Inſtance which he alledges he does well expreſs what Sence he has of greatneſs of Mind, and honourable Actions; for *he reckons the Fights of their Gladiators to be one Chief Sign of their Virtue*, which was a Cruelty that all the Civil World does blame them for. Beſides, I will confeſs *Monſieur de Sorbiere* to be a better Maſter of Defence than any *that he ſaw at the Red Bull*, if after this he can prove to me that he is a fit Man to diſtinguiſh what is Inſolence, and what is Courage, in the *Engliſh*, ſeeing he counts it to have been a great Piece of Bravery in the *Romans*, that they were delighted in beholding their Slaves and their Captives Murder one another. And whereas he ſays that we are infected with Outlandiſh Vices, I cannot forbear telling him that if this ſhould be granted partly true, that we are in ſome Meaſure degenerated from the Native Vertue and Innocence of our Anceſtors in *Edward* the Third and *Henry* the Fifth's Time, yet it is eaſie to tell from what Coaſt the Infection was tranſported hither; and we may ſay with *Horace* in a like Caſe, though in reſpect of worſe Arts than he intended, p. 5.

Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & Artes
Intulit Agreſti Latio.

He next objects to us, That *we have a ſtrong Union amongſt our ſelves againſt Strangers, and that it is almoſt impoſſible to get our Good-will.* This, Sir, is ſo far from being true, that (you know) it may well be computed that we have more Foreigners in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and *London*, who are permitted to Trade, and to enjoy the Priviledge of Natives, than there are conſtantly reſiding

residing in any Twenty Cities of *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*.

He upbraids us with frequent menacing and insulting over our Neighbours. This he speaks with particular respect to the *Hollanders* Trade.

Pref. But who made him Judge of the Rights of Peace and War? He acknowledg'd before, *That all other Affairs, except only those of the Sciences, and Learned Men, lye out of his Way.*

Why does he then thrust in to be Arbitrator of the Differences between the *Dutch* and *Us?* To call those Menaces and Affronts, which an Assembly that represents a mighty Nation has already stil'd Demands of Just Satisfaction? And which the great Sovereign of the Seas will shortly make appear to be a Vindication of the Law of Nations. But if Monsieur *de Sorbiere* believes that our present Contentions with the Low Countrymen are only rude Affronts, and not just Grievances, I am certain he was once of another Mind, when he writ his Letter to Monsieur *de Courcelles* in the Year 1652, wherein he extols the *Rumps* Victories over them, and presages a Glorious Empire to those Tyrants from their absolute subduing them.

He says, *That we will not vouchsafe to speak to those that Travel hither, and yet he calls us Presumptuous, Railers, Arrogant, and Evil Speakers.* But to this it shall suffice me to reply, that seeing the same Man condemns our Silence, and our Speech, it is a good Argument that we are moderate and unblameable in both.

He declares, That *we regard the Prosperity of others with Jealousie:* Whereas there is not one of our Neighbours, to whom our Assistance could reach, but we have aided in their Calamities. The *United Provinces*, notwithstanding their present

Appre-

Apprehenſions of us, will ſtill confeſs that their Commonwealth was founded upon *Engliſh* Valour. The Great *Henry* of *France* was eſtabliſh'd in his Throne by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Succours. And while I am writing this, the *Portugueze* behold one of the ſureſt Ramparts of their Liberty to be the Breaſts of *Engliſh* Soldiers.

He proceeds to affirm, That *we will ſerve any Man that will Feed us, ſuffer us to Rail, and be Idle.* But to give him a full Teſtimony how careful the *Engliſh* are of their own Liberty, it is enough to ſay that they endeavour more than moſt other Nations to preſerve inviolable the Freedom of Mankind in general; for they never make Slaves of their Priſoners of War in any Part of *Europe*, which perhaps few other Nations have forborn; and that the World has a better Opinion of us, he may be convinc'd by this, that the Natives of all Trading Countries have ſtill maintained a peculiar Reſpect for the *Engliſh* Intregrity; and that where-ever the Bounds of our Empire have reached in Antient Times, there ſtill remains on the Minds of the People a Remembrance of the Eaſineſs of the *Engliſh* Government. If all this will not ſatisfie him, that the *Engliſh* are not of a more Servile Diſpoſition than other Countries, I will put him upon an Employment which may well become his Abilities: Let him make a Computation of the Footmen, Grooms of Chambers, and Cooks in *Europe*, and then let him tell me whether he finds thoſe of the *Engliſh* Nation to be the moſt numerous.

He aſſerts, That *the* Engliſh *are Suſpicious, Dark, Irregular, Capricious, and that they have a Melancholy peculiar to themſelves.* In this methinks his ſmall Philoſophy ſhould have inſtructed him

him better, that such dismal Qualities are not the necessary Companions of the Complexion of *Angels*, which he allows them. But he that went dancing from *Paris* to *Calais*, and at *Calais*, as soon as he alighted out of the *Chasse Mare*, could not abstain from going to a Puppet-Play, (for that I suppose he means when he says, *He saw a Comedy there*,) is not a fit Man to Censure what is the difference between what is Fantastical and good Humour, between the Serious and the Sullen. However, he has made some Recompence to us for this Disgrace. He has describ'd the Vigorous and Sprightly Humour of the *French* in such a manner as makes it no very desirable
P. 7. Accomplishment. For he tells us, *That where-ever they come they make such a Noise, as to draw all the Children and the Dogs in the Town after them.* And I suppose it is such a kind of Brute as this that Monsieur *de Sorbiere* says he has made in all Places where he arrived.

He often says that we are all Idle, Sluggish, and Do-littles. Upon this he insists so frequently, that I conceive his *French* Readers, that never saw *England*, will be apt to believe that he found it such a Country as *Lubberland*: That he caught all the Inhabitants stretch'd out on their Backs, and sleeping under Trees. But whence could he gather this Conception of our Stupidity? The Places that he visited were only those on the Road to *Oxford* and *London*, and some few other Noblemens Houses besides. I hope he did not conclude our Nation to be so Lazy, from the quiet of the Streets, and the Retirement of the Colleges in the University. Yet when I remember what Judgment he made on our Rudeness at *Dover*, and from whence he took his Conjecture, I am likewise inclined to think that he has

has Discretion enough to determine upon the *English* Sluggishness from the private Way of Living of our Scholars. It must be so, for everywhere else he beheld many Marks of Diligence. In his Journey to *London* he confesses, *It was admirable to see what an Infinite Number of Seamen and Shipwrights were at work on the Banks of the* Thames. P. 9. In *London* itself he reports, that *there are more Shops, and better Beautified, than in any City in the World.* P. 16. *He found everywhere in* England *Men busie about Natural Experiments, from whose Labours he is confident Mankind may expect prodigious Inventions.* P. 32. And are all these the Signs of an overgrown Slothfulness? But besides these, Sir, he never saw any of the Chief Seats of the *English* Industry; he beheld not the Coal-pits of *Newcastle*, the Cloth-works of the West, and the North, the Lead-mines of *Derby*, the Orchards of *Hereford*, the Plough-lands of *Devon*, the New-rivers of the *Fenns*, the Tin-mines of *Cornwal*. These, and many more, he should have view'd. He should thence have passed into our Western Colonies: He should have considered the Sugar-works of the *Barbadoes*, the Tobacco Plantations of *Virginia*, the Silk Trade that is begun there, and the vast Mole which goes on at *Tangier*, that pitiful Place (as he terms it:) After all these Surveys he might have been a fitter Judge of the *English* Labours. This Exactness of Information might have been expected from an Historiographer Royal. But he has been as careful in this as in most of the rest of his Intelligence. For as soon as ever he sets his Foot on the *English* Shore, he straight positively *condemns all the whole Nation of Laziness from the first Post-horse that he saw Gallop.* P. 4.

His

His last Disgrace is the *English* Cowardice; and the Occasion from whence he takes this Ob-
P. 8. servation is very remarkable. *He saw at* Oxford *a Scholar affronted by a* Frenchman *that had been Seven Years the Protector's Soldier:* And thence *he passes Sentence on the Baseness of our Nation.* What, Sir, will the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* think of this? The One, when they remember the Battels of *Portland*, and the *Northforland*; and the other, when they call to mind *Tenariff*, and the Sandy Hills of *Dunkirk?* Will they not take it very ill at his Hands that he should reckon all those for Cowards whom *Cromwell*'s Soldiers had defeated? But if our late Civil Wars have not given an unconfutable Evidence of the *English* Valour; if the Immortal Sir *Richard Greenvill*; if our Conquests of *Ireland* and *Scotland* be forgotten; if the joint Testimony of almost all the Historical Writers for these last Six Hundred Years be of no Account; yet (to say no more) I could never have believed that any *French* Historiographer would have given it under his Hand that the *English* are Cowards.

And now, Sir, having laid all these Ignominies together, would you not have guess'd that he would never have dar'd to pronounce so boldly upon us, unless he had convers'd all his Lifetime with us: Unless he had throughly studied our Temper, and deeply pierc'd by a long Search into the Composition of our Nature? But when I find, that *as soon as ever he was called* Mounsieur *by the Children of* Dover, *he straight makes a Conclusion of our general Inhospitality:* And *of our Insolence from the next Carrier that he employ'd:* And *of our Abusiveness from a silly* Zealander, *that was his Fellow-Traveller:* And *of our want of Courage from a pitiful Fray between a Naked*

Naked Scholar and an Armed French *Souldier at Beaconsfield.* This puts me in mind of the Judgment which one of the greateſt Men that ever liv'd did paſs on the Antient *Gauls.* It was the Experience of *Cæſar* himſelf, of their Trifling and Changeable Humour, that *in their moſt Solemn Councils they determin'd on the weightieſt Affairs upon the Authority of any ſlender Report of the next wandring Pedlar.* This I hope I may repeat without offending the preſent *French* Nation. For I do not ſay, (as *Monſieur de Sorbiere* of us,) *That it came from the Nature of their Soil,* and that therefore it muſt needs deſcend on all that are Born on the ſame Earth. But I only affirm, that I know a certain *French* Trumpeter that has made good this Obſervation of *Cæſar's.*

This, Sir, being the Form which he has fancied in his Brain of the Wild Manners of the *Engliſh,* it is eaſie to gueſs what Thoughts he has of their Religion. And the Truth is, having repreſented us as ſuch Monſters in our Civil Cuſtoms and Behaviour, he could do no other than paint us out to be as bad as Infidels in our Spiritual Condition. For whoſoever are Barbarous in their Lives, can never be good Chriſtians in their Hearts. It is the peculiar Glory of the true Chriſtianity, that it does not only Save, but Civilize, its real Profeſſors.

We ſhall therefore find that his Reproaches are proportionable concerning our Religion. And by the Irreverence of the Language which he uſes towards it, you may perceive that he did not only learn from the Trooper that was his Companion to *Oxford* that the *Engliſh* are Inſolent and Cowards, but that he alſo furniſh'd him with this Intelligence of our Church. For this Account,

count, which he has here set down, could have
P. 8. been given by no Man living so properly as by one that had been a Soldier in *Cromwell*'s Army. To pass by the Friendly Names of *Schismaticks* and *Hereticks*, which he as freely bestows on us
P. 18. as if they were our National Titles, he has ventur'd to say, That *We separated from the Church of* Rome *for shameful Causes that are known to*
P. 17. *all the World:* That *the People has a Universal Aversion for the Religion establish'd by Law:*
P. 18. That *there is a probability that all our Sects may*
P. 17. *shorly unite to destroy it:* That *our solemn Publick*
P. 18. *Prayers are only a Morsel of a Liturgy:* That *the King did the most hazardous thing he could undertake when he restored Episcopacy:* That *our Ecclesiastical Government is nothing else but the Shadow and the Corruption of the true Hierarchy:* That *the Introduction of our Church Service into* Scotland *was the Cause of the shedding of so*
P. 2. *much Blood in the Three Nations:* That *our chief Clergymen, who have Pluralities of Benefices,*
P. 21. *make their Grooms their Curates:* That *our Bishops do horribly abuse their Jurisdiction in their*
P. 22. *Excommunications and Impositions:* That *they are so Haughty that none of the Inferiour Priests dare*
P. 25. *speak to them:* That *they Rob the Church by letting its Leases for Thirty Years; getting all the Money into their own Pockets, and leaving only*
P. 26. *a small Revenue to their Successors:* That *England is a Country where no Man is afraid of committing* Simony. This, Sir, is his Judgment of our Church. And you may be pleas'd to observe, that this Catalogue of Slanders is equally made up of those which the most furious of the *Romanists* on the one Side, and the most Fanatick amongst the *Nonconformists* on the other, are wont to Revile us withal: So that in repeating them, he

he does at once act both the Parts, which he had before play'd in the World at several times, that of a Violent Calvinist, and a Jesuitical Papist.

And first, it is false that our *English* Reformation began upon a shameful Occasion, or from the Extravagance of a private Passion. I know he has the Famous Story of King *Henry*'s Divorce to oppose against what I say; but I am not startled at that, no more than at the Fable of our Bishops Consecration at the *Nags-Head-Tavern*; or of the *Kentishmen* having long Tails for the Murder of *Thomas Becket*; such Frivolous Arguments as these might have served well enough in the Mouths of the *Monks* Two Hundreds Years ago, but they will not pass so easily in a Philosophical and Inquisitive Age. In brief therefore, Sir, it is evident that King *Henry* the Eighth did never intend to proceed to a much greater distance from the *Roman See* than the *Gallican* Church maintains at this Day. There is no Man of our Church that looks on his Breach with the Pope to have been a Reformation; we only esteem it to be of the Nature of those Quarrels which many Princes in the most Catholick Countries have managed against the Holy Chair: The Reformation to which we stand is of latter Date. The Primitive Reformers amongst us beheld the Reason of Men tamely subjected to one Man's Command, and the Sovereign Powers of all *Christendom* still expos'd to be check'd and destroy'd by the Resolutions of his private Will: Upon this they arose to perform Two of the greatest Works in the World at once, to deliver the Minds of Christians from Tyranny, and the Dignity of the Throne from Spiritual Bondage. Whatever was the accidental, this was the real Cause of our first Reformation, and of their

Separation from us, not ours from them. And this was the Event which must needs have come to pass near the time in which it did, though King *Henry* had never forsaken his Wife. Let him therefore know, that our Doctrine (*as much spoil'd as it is, in his Opinion,*) was establish'd by Christ and his Apostles: And that the Ceremonies of our Worship were not set up by Faction, or by a popular Fury, but by the deliberate Counsels of Wise Men, and by the Authority of that Power which bears the Immediate Image of God. This, Sir, I have said in Vindication of our Church; not so much to satisfie this Idle Dreamer on *Parnassus*, as out of the Love which I bear to many well-meaning Catholicks amongst us, who have this Argument sometimes in their Mouths; of whom I know very many, whose Wishes for the Happiness of their Country, and for its Freedom from Foreign Usurpations, are as honourable as any *Englishmen* Living. As for Monsieur *de Sorbiere*'s Part, it had been a sufficient Reply to him, that I can Name a Man who has indeed *separated from the Religion wherein he was Born for a shameful Cause which is known to all the World.*

P. 19.

He declares that *the People of* England *has a universal Aversion for the Establish'd Worship.* But here I cannot say that of him for which he commends *Doctor Wallis*, that *He is one of the best Accomptants in the World.* This positive Computation he never was in any Capacity to make. He never saw any of the middle, or the remoter Parts of our Nation, where Nonconformity is but very sparingly spread: He never convers'd with the vast Body of Gentry and Yeomantry that live Country Lives, who are generally

P. 41.

nerally uninfected. It is *London* alone on which he must rely for this Calculation. And yet even in this too I dare openly assure him, that the far greater Number is for the Rites of the Church than against them. But I advise Monsieur *de Sorbiere*, that before he thinks himself able to make an exact Judgment of the Number of our Religious Sects, he would first correct all his Errors in Arithmetick, which are to be found in this Book, about the most obvious Things, in reckoning of which it was enough to have only had the Understanding of the least Child that he ever taught. I will only produce one in this Place. Have we not reason to rely upon his Opinion of the Difference of the Parties in the whole Kingdom, when in the least Number that can be he has mistaken half? For he says, that *the double-bottom'd Vessel has Two Masts in the Front*, when every Sculler on the *Thames* knows it has but One.

He affirms, that *the Government of our Bishops is nothing else but the Shadow, and the Corruption of a true Hierarchy.* And he gives this Excellent Reason for it, *because here the Spiritual submits to the Temporal.* This very Argument I will turn on himself. It is therefore the True, the Sound, *the Apostolical Episcopacy, because it does yield to the Temporal Power, which else could be nothing but a Shadow?* It is the Glory of the Church of *England*, that it never resisted Authority, nor ingag'd in Rebellion: Which is a Praise that makes much to its Advantage in the Minds of all those who have read of the dismal Effects of the *Scotch* Covenant, and the Holy League. P. 38.

He says, that *our King did put himself on the most dangerous Enterprize that could be attempted*

when he restored Episcopacy; and yet he confesses that *our other Sects are inconsistent with any Government but a Commonwealth.* What dreadful Danger could be imagined in a Monarch's destroying that which must need fall of itself in a Monarchy? But to shew how much he was mistaken, it is evident, that on his Majesty's most Glorious Return the Church soon recovered all its Rights of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, of sitting in Parliament, and even all its Lands, which had been long held by Armed Usurpers, without any other Opposition than what was made by General *Venner*, and his Forty Men, who it seems did run the greatest hazard of the Two.

P. 24.

He declares that *there is so great a distance between our Bishops and our inferior Clergy, that these dare not speak to, nor stand cover'd before them.* This, Sir, you and I can prove to be a manifest Untruth by several Instances. But however, what Course can we take to please this grave Censurer of our Civility? *He here dislikes the Respects that we shew to our chief Churchmen:* And in another Place *He condemns the familiar Behaviour of our Soldiers towards their Officers. He abuses the Clergymen for standing bare to those Reverend and Aged Persons, and the Red-coats for keeping on their Hats in the presence of their Captains.* How sufficient a Judge is he of good Manners, that would bring rude Customs of a Camp into the Church, and the Punctilio's of Observance and Courtship into an Army.

But he accuses us of a greater Crime. It is but Just that there should be *so great a distance*, if our *Clergymen that have Pluralities make their Grooms supply their Cures.* In this part

of

of his Character he certainly, Sir, mistook the Country, and intended this for some other Kingdom in *Europe*, where he had also miss'd of a Medal. It is a sign that he is as little acquainted with his own Church, as he is with ours, or else he would never have objected to us our Pluralities, which are infinitely fewer, and more confin'd amongst us: He would never have ventur'd to upbraid us with the Ignorance of our Parish Priests, lest we should have provoked the whole Church of *Rome* to a Comparison. In brief, Sir, our Slaves do not serve at our Altars: And I will also add, that our chief Spiritual Dignities are not entailed on Families, nor possess'd by Children. In all the Parishes of *England*, I dare challenge not only him that is a Stranger, but the most bitter Enemies to our Disciple, to shew me Twenty Pulpits that are filled with Men who have not spent their Youth in Studies to prepare them, and who have not the Authority of Holy Orders.

That *he has presum'd to call our Publick Solemn Prayers only a Morsel, or a Scrap of a Liturgy*, I do not much wonder. For he that has long made his own Religion his Cook, (as one of our Poets expresses it,) may well be thought Irreligious enough to take a Metaphor for ours from a Kitchen. But besides this, he asserts, that *the Introduction of the* English *Liturgy into* Scotland, *was the Cause of the shedding of all the Blood in the Three Nations.* This Speech might have well fitted the Mouth of *Bradshaw*, or the Pen of *Ireton*; for it lays all the guilt of so much Slaughter on the most Innocent, and most Merciful Prince that ever wore a Crown; by whose special Care, an Uniformity of Worship was attempted in that King-

dom. But to give him better light, and to let him see that there were other Causes of our Miseries in one of these Three Countries at least, I would fain have him ask this Question of the Pope's Legate that was in *Ireland*, whether the horrible *Irish* Massacre was committed for no other Reason, but only out of a Tender Brotherly Sense of the Yoke which was laid by the Common-Prayer on the *Scotchmens* Consciences?

He tells us, that *it is an ordinary thing with our Bishops to exercise their Ecclesiastical Censures on frivolous Accounts.* But methinks he might have remembred, that it was not probable they should seek out any trifling Occasions of Excommunication, when, by his own Confession, they have so many weighty Provocations, if that be true, that the whole Nation neglects their Discipline. But, Sir, you know it is apparent to all indifferent Men, that the Bishops have been most remarkably moderate in their Visitations: And that the Punishments which have been inflicted on the Obstinate have for the most part proceeded from the Temporal Sword, and not the Spiritual. But because he here quarrels at the Absoluteness of our Bishop's Power, I leave him to be answered by the whole Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, who ought to be alarm'd by this. For if ours shall be reputed so Tyrannical, what will they be esteemed whose Jurisdiction is so much larger?

He goes on to defame our Bishops. He says, *they have imbezzelled the Church Lands to make their own Families Rich.* This, Sir, is an Objection, which though it was at first managed against them with great Clamour, by the common Enemies of the King, and the Church, yet now on

a calmer Consideration of things it has universally lost its Credit, even in those Places where he says, *The* English *take Tobacco half the Day together*; *from whence he acknowledges that he had a good part of his Relations.* The first Murmurs against them were rais'd, because they receiv'd altogether some part of that which was their due for Twenty Years before. But the Envy of that was quickly scatter'd, when it was manifest how many publick and generous Works they have promoted. Besides the First-fruits, and Tenths, and above all, the Subsidies, which have swept away a good part of their Gains, they have compounded with a very great Number of the Purchasers; they have increas'd the Vicaridges in their Gift to Fourscore Pounds a Year; they have indow'd Alms-houses, and Colleges; they have built Chapels; they have repaired the Episcopal Palaces, and Cathedrals, which were generally gone to ruin; they have redeemed at once all the *English* that were Slaves at *Algiers*; and that too I dare assure him without any Intent to make Curates of them. P. 54.

The *Account which he gives of their letting Leases* is most ridiculous. There is no Man amongst them *that lets a Lease for Thirty Years.* The Reserved Rent is that which was always the standing Revenue of the Church. Nor ought this Custom to be objected against the Church of *England*; it is the same Course which is taken in *France*, and most other Parts of *Christendom.* Nay, to go farther, the letting of Church Leases is a Business whose Regulation was brought about since the time that the Church of *Rome* divided from us. Before Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign the Churchmen had a Power of Farming out their Lands, not only for Thirty, but for

Ninety-nine Years. It was She that first confin'd the Term to One and Twenty, and so it still remains. He ought not therefore to reckon this Practice as our Disgrace, when the good Order that is now us'd about it is the peculiar Honour that belongs to the *English* Reformation.

But to conclude, if no Man fears Simony in *England*, then there is no Man that is affrighted with Punishment; for our Laws are as strict against it, and as severely executed as any where else. However, if it were true, (which is far from being so,) that we Simoniacally imploy the Church Estate to Secular Uses, yet this sounds very ill from that *Layman*'s Pen, who, when he writ this Voyage, was maintain'd out of the Ecclesiastical Revenue. This, Sir, was Monsieur *de Sorbiere*'s Case. And the first Office of a Churchman that ever he perform'd was in this Book, where *he devoutly prays to God to make Mr.* Hobbs *a Roman Catholick.* Which if his Prayers can obtain from Heaven, he deserves not only to be made a Priest, or Bishop, but even a Saint too; for this will be a far greater Miracle than any of those for which many have been Canoniz'd.

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And now, Sir, can you require any greater Signs of Monsieur *de Sorbiere*'s Sincerity in his Religion? He has accus'd of *Simony*, the most Incorrupt: Of Pride, the Humblest: Of Rapacity, the most Innocent: Of Ignorance, the most Learned: Of False Doctrine, the most Primitive: Of Ill Discipline, the most Decent Church under Heaven. And when nothing else could be said, he even upbraids it with its Submission and Obedience, to shew, (that he is as ill a Disciple of Mr. *Hobbs*'s, whom he pretends to admire,

as

as he is of the Apoſtles.) Notwithſtanding all which impudent Diſgraces, there remains this one Comfort to the Church of *England*, that the ſame Man, who now vilifies her ſo baſely, had once as mean Thoughts of the Godhead of her Bleſſed Founder himſelf.

But it is eaſie to conjecture at the Cauſe of this his harſh Uſage of our Church. He had but lately Apoſtatiz'd from the Reformed Religion in *France:* He was but juſt enter'd into the *Romiſh* Communion: And he ſuſpected that there might be ſome Doubts ſtill remaining on Mens Minds of the Reality of his Converſion, which might turn to the Prejudice not only of his Spiritual, but of his Temporal Eſtate. He had given himſelf out for a great Philoſopher: And he underſtood well enough that few Philoſophers are thought to alter their Minds that have once been Proteſtants. He was therefore reſolved to give an unqueſtionable Proof of his Eſtabliſhment in the Faith by reviling the Church of *England*; and in performing this, I confeſs, Sir, he has Counterfeited the Zealot very well: He has proſecuted us with all the Violence and Bigottry which commonly accompanies new Converts: But yet I believe this will hardly do his Buſineſs. Even in this very Book he gives Evidence enough Calviniſm and Hereſie are not wholly rooted out of his Heart. He groſly abuſes the moſt devoted Children of the Church of *Rome*, the *Engliſh* Roman Catholicks. He complains of them, *That they have no mind to diſturb the Peace of their Country towards the Reſtoration of their Religion:* Which is indeed ſpoken to their Honour, though he intends it to their Shame. He ſays, *that they are not ſo zealous in their Way as Foreign Papiſts*; the quite contra-

P. 26.

P. 26.

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P. 26. ry to which is true: He makes *as if they never saw the true Mass perform'd:* He affirms, *that they are all Born in Servitude*, and debases so many Antient, Rich, and Honourable Families, to the Condition and the Minds of Slaves. In all these Speeches he does not express any certain Mark of a True Proselyte. But above all, he has set down such a Determination of his Faith, that if he had made it in *Italy* or *Spain* he had undoubtedly fallen into the Inquisition. He boldly pronounces, that *Transubstantiation, Purgatory, the* P. 20. *Merit of Works, Invocation of Saints, the Supremacy of the Bishop of* Rome, *the Authority of Councils, and the Infallibility of the Pope, are none of them Fundamental Doctrines.* What greater Apology could be made for the Church of *England*, which he has so much defam'd, seeing these are the only shameful Causes for which we dissented from *Rome?*

But I leave him to be corrected by the Pope's Sentence for these Heresies; which perhaps the Holy Father has reason to think do more shake the Holy Chair than the Five Points of *Jansenius* that he condemn'd, which Monsieur *de Sorbiere* says *did raise a Dispute about a Matter of no-* P. 24. *thing.*

From our Religion let us follow him to our Government; and here, Sir, I was at first a little at a stand how to deal with him. But I have heard of the Magnanimous Resolution of the late Duke of *Buckingham*, who would never permit any Apology to be written for him. And I consider, that it is almost as great an Arrogance for one obscure Writer to undertake to defend the Actions of Great Princes, as it is for another to defame them. I will not therefore inlarge my Speech in the Praises of the present Happiness of

England

England, or in paying all the Acknowledgments which are due to our Sovereign for the Bleſſings of his Reign; that is a Subject fitter for a more Elaborate Volume than a ſingle Letter, and for a far more Elegant Pen than mine; I will only ſhew the Vanity of our Hiſtoriographer's groundleſs Suggeſtions. And as an Introduction to what he ſays concerning the Political Condition of this Nation, I will firſt obſerve how he deals with ſome others of the chief Crown'd Heads in *Europe*. You will perhaps, Sir, be very hardly induc'd to believe that he can be guilty of Diſreſpect to Monarchy, or Sovereign Princes, when you behold him ſo Panegyrically given towards that Government, as to take the Pains to go Five or Six Thouſand Miles to find out a Race of Kings to commend; for he here ſpeaks very Zealouſly *in praiſe of the moſt Vertuous and moſt Religious Kings of* China. This, Sir, I cannot but applaud in him; and to ſhew how much this Teſtimony of his good Manners has wrought with me, I will not be harſh upon him in this Place. I will not call in queſtion the Credit of his Intelligence from the fartheſt Eaſt, which you ſee is ſo falſe about a Country that lyes only Seven Leagues diſtant from his own. Nay, I will not ſo much as inquire whether ever he met with any *Chineſe Madam* Fiennes *to give him this Information.* I will grant, that the Kings of *China* have been Great Menders of Bridges, and Planters of Orchards. But I will only now ſoftly put him in mind, that while his Pen did overflow with ſweet Words upon the Kings of *China*, he has handled the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* more cruelly than *Dionyſius* the Tyrant would have done when he was a King, nay, even when he was a School-maſter. P. 48.

Of the Two last Kings of *Sweden* he affirms, That *that Glory is almost wholly vanish'd: And that all moderate Men must needs read the Desolations, which they caus'd, with Horror.* You see, Sir, what an Excellent Occasion he has here given me of Triumphing over him: You know very well how many great and irresistible Arguments this Matter might suggest to me: What might not be said of that Victorious Nation? How copious might I be in extolling the indefatigable Industry, the Conduct, the Good Fortune, the Generosity of those Kings? What Passions might here be rais'd in appealing to all Mankind, and in aggravating the common Misery of all Great Commanders of Armies, if it shall be permitted to every small Pamphleteer to invade their Lives, and to arreign their Ashes, when he pleases? But there is no need of going so powerfully to work, or of imploying against him any of the Lofty and Tragical Forces of Eloquence. It will suffice if I recal to his Memory the Title in which he boasts so much. I will only ask him how the Historiographer of *France* can assert the Wars of *Gustavus Adolphus* to have been horrible Devastations, without casting some Share of the Dishonour on the Crown of *France* itself? For (if we will believe all the *French* Writers of that time) there was a strict Confederacy, and a real Union of Interests between those Two Mighty Monarchs. I will give him leave to use the Fame of the Kings of *Sweden* as he pleases. Let them in his Account pass for Thieves and Oppressors. They deserve so to be us'd: For they were Mortal Enemies to that Beloved Country, with whose Musick, and *Latin*, and Dancing, he was before so much ravish'd,

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viſh'd. I only bid him look back on the Relation which *Lewis* the Juſt had to *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and then let him try to vindicate himſelf for overturning the Trophies of the Father in the ſame Book, wherein he declares, that *He travell'd abroad in a Waggon*, to ſpread the Glory of the Son.

But the Fame of thoſe Dead Princes is plac'd above the Reach of his Envy: Let us, Sir, conſider how he behaves himſelf towards the Living. What a long Story (or rather, as he himſelf ſtiles it, Romance) has he here made of the Life of *Ulefelt* the *Dane*, *on which he builds the Juſtification of his Crimes*, *and condemns the King of* Denmark's *Juſtice*? And yet at the ſame time he acknowledges that *He took the whole Relation only from the Mouth of* Ulefelt's *own Wife*. After this, have the Kings of *China* any great Reaſon to be proud of this Man's Good-will? When he has here expreſs'd no more Judgment, nor Integrity, than from the ſingle and partial Information of a Woman, to acquit a Man that had been Hang'd in *Effigie* in *Denmark*, and has been ſince kill'd as he was purſued for High Treaſon?

On the ſight of all this I may well return ſecurely Home to examine his Opinion of our State. And here I muſt not forget to acquaint you that he is not all over Satyrical, but in ſeveral Places he ſprinkles ſome few kind Words to our Advantage. Yet his Commendations are ſo directly contrary to his Reproaches, that inſtead of reconciling me to him, they rather ſupply me with new Arguments againſt him. And who can deſire an eaſier Adverſary to deal with, than ſuch an one, who, when he ſpeaks againſt

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us, oppoſes evident Truth, when he ſpeaks for us, contradicts himſelf?

This Inconſiſtence of his own Mind with itſelf is apparent in this Political Part of his Relation,

P. 51. which now comes under my Cenſure: He confeſſes *Our King to be one of the beſt Princes in the World.* He declares, that *His Majeſty us'd*

P. 50. *him with all imaginable Sweetneſs; and that by the Charms of his Diſcourſe he ſent him away as well pleas'd as if he had loaded him with his Preſents.* I intreat you now, Sir, to recollect how this and that which follows hang together.

P. 51. Firſt, He ſuggeſts, *that perhaps there was not ſo much Pretence for the People to Rebel in the late King's Time as there is at this preſent.* In the Reply which I ſhall make to this Paſſage, I cannot, Sir, confine my ſelf to the bare Limits of a Satisfactory Anſwer; but I muſt permit my Zeal for the Proſperity of our Country to break forth into Expreſſions of Joy and Gratitude. It is fit that all the World ſhould know, that as our King was Reſtor'd with the moſt Miraculous Submiſſions of Minds and Intereſts that ever any Hiſtory can ſhew: As he was eſtabliſh'd on the Throne of his Anceſtors, while there were Two mighty Armies on Foot, that had fought againſt him and his Father: So there can be no Difficulty in continuing this Quiet, now he has all the Power of the Nation in his Hands, and now his Enemies are Scatter'd and Diſarm'd, (if yet he can be thought to have any real Enemies, after ſo many Heroick Teſtimonies of his Mercy.) The Condition of all his Affairs abroad is in ſuch a Poſture, in reſpect of his Neighbours, that he is as far from being liable to receive Injuries unreveng'd, as he is averſe in his own Diſpoſition from doing Wrongs unprovok'd. And the ſmall Diſſentions that ſtill remain on ſome of his Sub-

jects

jects Minds at Home, are so far from hazarding the Safety, that they will rather make for the Honour of his Reign. For by his renew'd and generous Endeavours towards the composing of these Differences, there will arise for him a continued Succession of Peaceful Triumphs, of which the Occasions had been wanting to him if he had found us all of one Mind. And many such Victories as these we may justly presage to our Sovereign's future Government. The Forces which he employs against those few that are still Contumacious, which are those of Affability and Forgiveness, are impossible to be resisted. Whoever contends with those Weapons, he has not only his own Virtues, but theirs on his side. And as these are the surest Conquests, so they are of the greatest Renown. In the Triumphs of War, his Soldiers, his Commanders, and even Fortune itself, would come in for a Share in the Fame: But those which are obtain'd by Pity, and by Pardoning, have no Partners in the Honour, but are wholly to be attributed to the King himself.

But for a Proof of our Calm and Well-secur'd Condition, I appeal from this Trifler's Conjectures to the Parliament itself, which is the true Representative of the Affection of the whole Kingdom. If he would have been willing to refer the Matter to their Decision, he might have found all things so free from any likelihood of New Disturbances, that they have been still as inclin'd to be severe towards the King's Ill-willers, as he himself has been to be Gentle: And as sollicitous to guard his Royal Person with their Lives and Fortunes, as he has been careful that he might need no other Defence but his own Goodness.

Yet

Yet since he is resolv'd not to stand to the Determination of that great Assembly, which he modestly terms *an Extravagant Body*, let us see what Reports he has pick'd up amongst the Male-contents of the Vulgar: He says, that they everywhere complain of the Neglect of the Interest of Trade, of the Mis-spending of the Treasure, of the Oppressions of the Court, and of the Decrease of our Glory at Sea.

All this, Sir, he professes *to take from the Murmurs of the Multitude.* And if they are guilty of such Discourses more than the Commonalty of other Countries, they justly deserve the Titles that he gives them, of a Suspicious, a Sullen, an Insolent, and an Envious Generation. But then, Sir, if the Mean and Ignorant People ought so much to be condemn'd for upbraiding their Governours, tho' they only do it in private, when they are heated with Drink, and under the protection of a *a Cloud of Tobacco-Smoke*, what Punishment does that Historian deserve who thought good to collect their Discontents, and to make himself worse than the Authors of them, by being the first that reports them in this publick Way? What Credit could he expect to get by repeating these low Scandals, when it was dishonourable for him only to confess that he came into such Places, and Companies, where he might over-hear them? This Reprehension, Sir, he ought to have uudergone, if all this that he relates had been true: But if we take it in pieces we shall find that he Libels the very Suburbs; and that his Ink is Black enough to represent the worst Slanders of the Rabble in darker Colours than their own.

As for the Repinings which he heard concerning the Diminution of Trade; you know, Sir, that

it is the Publick, and the Cheerful Voice of all *Engliſhmen*, that there have been far more Incouragements for Merchants, and more vigorous Attempts for the Advancement of Commerce, within theſe Four Years and half than in many Ages before. I might for a Proof of this alledge the *Royal Council* that is particularly ſet up for that Purpoſe. I might inſtance in the Increaſe of the Cuſtoms, which from Thirty or Forty Thouſand Pounds in the latter end of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign do now amount to almoſt Four Hundred Thouſand a Year. I might urge all the Proclamations for the prohibiting of Foreign Manufactures, and for the Improvement of our own. I might reckon up the many new Statutes for the Repairing of Havens, the Mending of Highways, and the Cutting of Rivers, but it is enough only to mention the Inſtitution of the Royal Fiſhing and the Royal Company, in both which our King has Proſperouſly begun a Deſign which will Infallibly make the *Engliſh* the Maſters of the Trade of the World, and that is the bringing in of our *Gentry* and *Nobility* to contribute towards it. When this ſhall be brought about, not all the little Crafts of the *Hollanders*, (which he magnifies ſo much) will ſerve their Turn; but the *Engliſh* will outgo them in Induſtry and Stock, as much as they do already in Shores, in Ports, in Ships, in Valour, in Vertue. This, Sir, we ſhall undoubtedly live to ſee accompliſh'd, ſeeing the Gentlemen of *England* have ſo great an Example before them; of a King, who does not only make the Arts of Commerce and Navigation his Buſineſs, and his Intereſt, but his very Delight and Recreation. *P. 62, 63.*

What he ſays of our Treaſure is moſt Impudently objected againſt that Prince, who has re-

retrench'd those Expences which his Predecessors maintain'd, when the Revenue of the Crown was far
P. 55. less. And he chose a very unseasonable time to Proclaim, *that the Blood-suckers of the Court devour the People*, when those Blood-suckers have parted with their very Food, and the Antient Dues of their Offi-
P. 54. ces, to lessen the Charge of the Publick. But his loudest Outcry concerns the Loss of our Dominion at Sea. And here *he most invidiously compares the Times of the* Rump *with our Present Naval Power.* First of all he might have understood, that the Fleets which were then set forth against the *Dutch* did mainly consist of the late King's Ships; and also that the whole Estates of the Crown, the Clergy, most of the Nobility and Gentry, and indeed well nigh of the whole Nation, were then at the Usurper's Disposal. From thence he might have concluded, that even the Glory of their Victories is not so much to be given to the Riches and Interest of *Scot*, *Hasilrigg*, or *Vane*, as to the Treasures of the King, and the Royal Party. But besides this, Sir, what will he be able to answer me, when I shall tell him, that our King has made our Sea-provisions far stronger than ever they were in any Age or Country before, and that too only by the help of a Revenue bounded by Law, and limited to the strict Rules of Justice? Of the Truth of this he might speedily have been convinc'd if he had visited any one of our Royal Stores, instead of describing *Smithfield*, *Bedford* Garden, the Conduits of *London*, *Morefields*, *Hatfield* Fishponds, and St. *Catherine*'s College in *Oxford.* Never was there a greater abundance of Materials in readiness! Never more skilful Builders! Never more formidable Preparations! Never more valiant Commanders! And in One Word to perfect all, never a Braver Admiral!

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An Admiral of whose undaunted Courage, unwearied Diligence, and fortunate Conduct, all the Nations round about us have beheld so many unquestionable Proofs, even from the very first Years of his Youth. And if I thought that all the Men of Honour, wherewith *France* now abounds, were not yet satisfied how little *Monsieur de Sorbiere* deserves to be Historiographer Royal, I would desire no other Instance to prove it but only this, that when he declares he came into *England* to *content his Curiosity*, to *see all the Rare Things and Men amongst us*, yet he scarce mentions the Duke of *York*.

I will admit that hitherto he has only recited the Extravagances of the Rabble; let us now, Sir, come to that Place wherein he has chiefly exercised the Profoundness of his skill, his own Speculations on the Defects of our Monarchy, and the Factions of our Court; and that you may know how Conversant he has been in all Intrigues of State, as well as those of the Muses, I will give you his Positive Determination of one of the graveſt Points of Policy that ever was debated at a Council Table; and it shall be in his own Words, to his Intimate Friend *Monsieur de* Vaubrun, *To you, Monsieur de Vaubrun*, (says he,) *being my Bosom Friend, a Man that esteems me much, and one whom I honour Infinitely, being also a Gentleman that Loves Justice, as well as Fighting, I will reveal the Bottom of my Heart, and tell you the most Secret of all my Thoughts.* What weighty Matter does he introduce with this Solemn Preface? He complains that *the Learned Men of the* English *are not enough communicative.* Certainly we shall find him of a better Temper, no doubt he will now unfold some New Principle of Policy, and of the Laws of Humane Society, which

Pref.

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he has discover'd, that is not yet ripe for the Publick, and only fit to be committed to the Trust of a Particular Confident. It proves so indeed! The Oracle he immediately pronounces,
P. 48. is this, *That Man was not made by Nature to fight with Man, but rather to enjoy the Benefits of Peace, that God has not given us Horns, Hoofs, or Claws*; but

Os homini sublime dedit.

This, Sir, is all the mighty Mystery of which he discharges his Breast with so much Ceremony. And in which is he now more ridiculous, his History or his Policy? His History, in speaking so many false Reproaches aloud, his Policy, in whispering such Trifles with so much caution. I beseech you, Sir, let us allow him the Reputation of this new Invention intire. Though he did not think fit to name the Famous Author of the Lunar Globe, which he saw in the King's Closet, yet I intend to be juster to him; and I will propose this Epitaph to be grav'd on his Tomb, *Hic jacet primus Author hujus Sententiæ, Pax Bello potior.*

This, Sir, is one Trial of his Contemplative, you shall have more of his Practical Politicks. He has ventur'd to declare the *Queen Mother*'s Thoughts about the most Private and Dome-
P. 53. stick Concernments, which were so near to her that it was impossible for a Thousand *Madam Fiennes* to have given him any Instruction about them. And in this he had no Reverence for the Greatest and the most Virtuous Princess of this Age, for the Mother of our King, nor for the Daughter of *Henry* the Great. He has made
P. 53. a disadvantageous Character on my Lord St. *Albans* to the *French* Nation, where he was before so well known, and where he liv'd long in

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so much Honour. He has presum'd on the King himself; he saucily Conjectures at the Reasons of the Choice of his Ministers, as if he had been admitted into his Royal Breast as well as his Cabinet. He says that *his Majesty is forc'd to be familiar with his Nobility and Gentry, to keep their Esteem and Good-will*, and so he endeavours to bring down those Virtues of which he himself receiv'd so many Proofs to be only Works of Necessity. But seeing he confesses this generous Affability to be able to hinder the King's Subjects from Rebellion, methinks it might have prevail'd on a mean Stranger to spare the Reputation of his Kingdoms. He insinuates, that the *true Sovereign Power amongst us resides in the People*, which is a Doctrine that was scarce ever heard of in *England* till the Year Forty-eight, and vanish'd in Sixty. He affirms, that *there is a mixture of all Sorts of Government in the Composition of our State*, notwithanding that we have so many Acts of Parliament that Devolve the whole Power on the Crown. His long Discourse *of the Priviledges of the House of Commons, and the Degrees of their Increase*, is nothing but a wild Whimsie of his own Brain. There is no mention in any *English Historian*, that *Edward the First call'd Knights and Burgesses to sit in Parliament*; or that *when they were so conven'd, he only us'd their Counsel, and rejected those of the Nobility and Gentry*; and yet upon these Imaginary Faults, of which he supposes *Edward* the First guilty, he here *takes him into his Discipline, reads to him a tedious Lecture of the Arts of Government*, and treats the Wisest and most Victorious Prince of *Christendom* in that time as imperiously as if he had been a Cadet of the House of *Suze*. But I am weary,

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P. 58. 59.

Sir, of taking notice of such Errors, which are only Mistakes in History or Chronology. At least I need not go Three Hundred Years back for them, seeing he is so much besides the Truth in his Account of the most Renown'd Action in this Age, the King's Return, *which he wholly attributes to the Presbyterians.* All the Circumstances of that Glorious Restauration are still, Sir, fresh in our Memories, the very Noise of those Triumphs which fill'd the whole World with admiration seems to be yet scarce out of our Ears; and shall we suffer him to fix all the Honour of that Immortal Work on a Private Sect? Whereas it was Accomplish'd by the immediate Favour of Divine Providence, by the Wisdom of a Victorious General, by the Perpetual and Immoveable Fidelity of the Royal Party, by the Hands, the Wishes, the Tongues, and the United Desires of Three Kingdoms. 'Tis True indeed, the *Presbyterians* went along with the Mighty Torrent, but the whole Course of this Happy Violence is not therefore to be Attributed to them. You see, Sir, I am unawares fallen into a Metaphor, which does best Resemble that Enterprize. It was in that, as in a sudden Land-flood, which, as it comes down, carries with it Trees, and Stones, and Houses, and all that it meets in the Way. And even all these which lay before quiet, nay, which resisted the first Waters while they were weak, do add to the Impetuosity of the Current when it is going. But we must not therefore say that the Flood itself took its rise from thence, seeing it was in Truth caus'd by Rain coming down from Heaven, and by Streams flowing in from every Part of the Country. This Allusion, Sir, I think does represent the whole Matter to your Mind.

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If it does not, however I have return'd *Monſieur de Sorbiere* an ill Similitude for one of his, where *he compares the Proteſtants to the Ottoman Empire*, which is ſo much an Intrigue of the *Muſes*, that I will Challenge all the Wits of *England* and *France* to Interpret it. But if the Covenanters ſhall ſtill be fond of this Praiſe, which he here allows them, let them remember of how little Value his Panegyricks are, ſeeing he calls *Ulefelt* a Heroe; and if they will ſtill maintain that they reſtor'd the King, let them take heed leſt ſome Miſchievous Royaliſt ſhould tell them that in one Sence they did indeed occaſion the King's Reſtoration, but in the ſame that *Quintus Maximus* meant after he had recover'd *Tarentum*, who gave this anſwer to another *Roman* that had loſt that Place before, and yet boaſted what ſhare he had in regaining it, 'tis true, (ſays he,) it was by your Means indeed; *Nam niſi tu perdidiſſes Tarentum, ego nunquam recepiſſem.*

But the Chief Secret into which he has pierc'd is the late Controverſie between my Lord Chancellor and the Earl of *Briſtol.* What Subtle Concluſions does he draw from it? What Prophetical Viſions does he here reveal, concerning the Terrible Diſturbances that ſhall ariſe to our Government many Ages hence, from an Accident which was at an end before he got back to *Paris?* What a formal Diviſion has he made of the whole Nation? *Homer* himſelf is not ſo Punctual in Marſhalling the Forces of the *Greeks* and the *Trojans*; nor is there leſs Fiction in this Hiſtory than in his Poetry. *On the Earl of* Briſtol's *Quarter he places the Diſcontented againſt the Court, the City of* London, *the Presbyterians that brought in the King, the Houſe of Lords,* P 52. 52.

a great and strong Party of the House of Commons, which he says is the True Body of that Extravagant Body the Parliament. An Army numerous and formidable. *On the Lord Chancellor's side he ranks the Royal Family, the Bishops, Deans,* P. 52, 53. *and Chapters, all the Nobility, all the Rich Merchants, and Burgesses,* (though he had before bestow'd the House of Lords and the City of *London* on the Earl of *Bristol.*) Thus he has drawn the whole Kingdom into Battalia; it is but now performing his Office of Trumpeter, and a dreadful Battel will no doubt ensue. But how comes it to pass that all these Rumours of mighty Wars did vanish on the sudden? Was it because they P. 9. were *English* Cowards, and dar'd not fight? Alas, Sir, all this was only a Fine Story of Encounters in the Air, whereof there was no other Foundation than in the wild Fancies of his own making. And may we not give that Character of our Historian, which he does of one of the Noble Combatants, *that his great Wit has in-* P. 52. *clin'd him to be Romantick?* Is not this the True Trick of a Romancer, to bring in many Princes fighting together in a Wood, without giving any Account how they came thither?

But the Danger is over. All is quiet again, and long may it so keep. For to speak t'ye, Sir, *from the bottom of* Monsieur de Sorbiere's *Heart, Peace is better than War.* Well then, *He grants* P. 53. *that the Victory did a little incline to my Lord Chancellor's Party*; yet he has shewn the Bravery of his own Mind by Defying the Conqueror. And here, Sir, I confess he has driven me on one of the Tendereſt Points in the World, which is the speaking concerning the Fame of a great Man while he is living. But I intreat you to lay before your Eyes the many Powerful Arguments

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by which I am mov'd at leaſt to give a true Teſtimony, though not a long Elogy, concerning him. My Lord Chancellor is a Man through whoſe Hands the greateſt part of all the Publick and Private Buſineſſes of our Country do paſs; and it will be moſt diſhonourable for us to ſuffer his Name to be revil'd in this manner, while he is ſcarce at leiſure to look to its Defence himſelf, by reaſon of his Eternal Labours for the Publick Juſtice and Safety. And beſides this, Sir, I can for my own Particular alledge another Motive of nearer Concernment; for I am to conſider my ſelf as a Member of the Royal Society, and the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and the the Earl of *Clarendon* as Protector of one of them, and Chancellor of the other.

Theſe, Sir, are ſome of his True Titles, however *Monſieur de Sorbiere* is pleas'd to paſs them over, and give him worſe in their ſtead. Firſt of all he ſays that he is a *Presbyterian.* At this Ridiculous Scandal, I aſſure you, Sir, I am not much griev'd. I was (to tell you true) in a a terrible Affright, when I read what he Reports, *that almoſt all the City of* London *are Presbyterians.* But now this Paſſage has compos'd my Mind again, for it is like to be a very exact Computation, which he has made of that Sect when the firſt Man that he names for *Presbyterian* is my Lotd Chancellor. He next tells us, that he is a Man of the Law; a ſhameful Diſgrace, the Lord Chancellor of *England*, whoſe Office it is to govern and moderate the Law, is a *Lawyer.* As if I ſhould endeavour to leſſen the Credit of *Monſieur de Vaubrun*, and prove him unfit to be Governour of *Phillippe Ville*, and Colonel of Light-Horſe, by objecting that he is a Soldier, or of *Monſieur de Sorbiere* to be

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Hiſto-

Hiſtoriagrapher Royal, by ſaying that he is skill'd in Hiſtory. But he is a Lawyer and Stateſman at once. Can this be any more Diſparagement to him than it is to the whole Body of Lawyers in *France*, who in all Times have manag'd the greateſt Imployments of that State? Could he not have recollected, before he writ this, that *Monſieur de Seguier*, the preſent Chancellor of *France*, is a Gentleman of the Long Robe? You ſee, Sir, what a good Satyriſt we have here got, who would undertake to abuſe an *Engliſh* Stateſman with ſuch an Argument, which muſt at the ſame time reflect as much upon his own Countrymen, his Chief Friends and Patrons, to whom he directs his Speech. But the worſt is ſtill behind. *My Lord Chancellor is utterly Ignorant of the* Belles Lettres: This Accuſation is as Decent as all the former. *He diſlikes our Carriers for not being Courtly, our Soldiers for not putting off their Hats well, our Biſhops for their Gravity, and our Stateſmen for not being Grammarians and Criticks.* But I will prove to him, by his own Confeſſion, that my Lord Chancellor deſerves not this Reprehenſion; and that he is a Man skilful in all *Polite Learning. He himſelf allows him to be a Great Politician, and a very Eloquent Man.* I have obtain'd, Sir, what I deſir'd. You ſee how eaſie it is to juſtifie the Earl of *Clarendon*, ſeeing the very Man that vilifies him, does at the ſame time gainſay himſelf, and ſuggeſt to me his Praiſes, without my interpoſing any Word in his Commendation. If we ſhould grant that a Man may Chance to be a great Dealer in Politicks, without underſtanding any thing elſe, (which yet nothing but *Monſieur de Sorbiere*'s own Example in this Place can perſwade us to be poſſible,) yet how can he be

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thought to attain to a perfect Eloquence without any skill in the Civil Arts? Where now is his Polite Learning? Whence did he fetch this Idea of Eloquence? Let him produce his Notes out of *Ariſtotle*, *Tully*, *Quintilian*, *Seneca*, or any of the Rhetoricians of Antiquity, and then let him tell me whether they do not all with one Voice conſent that an Orator muſt of neceſſity be acquainted with all Sorts of uſeful Knowledge? But becauſe he is ſo free in his Reproof of my Lord Chancellor's unskilfulneſs in the *Belles Lettres*, I pray, Sir, what Signs has this great *Ariſtarchus* himſelf given of his own Proficience in them? Where do we find in him any Footſteps of the True Spirit of the *Grecian* or *Roman* Wit? What Reaſon have we to envy his Judgment in the Claſſical Authors, when all the Proof that he has given in this Book of his being converſant in them, are only Three or Four Pedantical Quotations, of which the chief is,

Os homini ſublime dedit.

Thus far, Sir, in reply to him: But more is to be added concerning the Honourable Perſon, of whom he ſpeaks in ſuch mean Terms. My Lord Chancellor is a Gentleman of a very Antient Family, of which Mr. *Cambden* makes mention in his *Britannia*. His Education and firſt Years were ſpent in a ſtrict Familiarity with many of the moſt Famous Men, not only of that Age, but perhaps of any other; of whom (to paſs by ſome Reverend and Learned Churchmen that are living) it is enough to name Mr. *Chillingſworth* and the Lord *Falkland*. His firſt Application to the Affairs of his Country was in a time wherein extraordinary Fidelity and Sufficiency

ency were requir'd. His Services to the late King were requited by the committing of many Eminent Busineſſes to his Management; and by a very high Share in his Majeſties Favour; of which there are incredible Proofs in that Excellent Prince's Letters. Under him he was Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Privy-Counſellor, and deſigned Secretary of State. Since that time he was Extraordinary Ambaſſador into *Spain*, and attended his preſent Maſter in his Misfortunes, which was undoubtedly the moſt Glorious Scene of Honour in the World. By theſe ſeveral Degrees of Great Imployments he aſcended to that Illuſtrious Station which he now enjoys. And as for the Qualifications of his Mind, if it be needful to add any thing to the Votes of the Royal Society, and the Univerſity of *Oxford*, I will declare, that of all the Men of Great Worth, who have poſſeſſed that High Office, ſince Learning and the Civil Arts came amongſt us, there was never any Man that has ſo much reſembled Sir *Thomas More*, and the Lord *Bacon*, in their ſeveral Excellencies, as the Earl of *Clarendon*.

There might, Sir, much more be anſwer'd againſt all his falſe Inſinuations concerning the Political Condition of *England*. But I have ſeen a Book of *Monſieur de Sorbiere*'s Diſcourſes and Letters, whereof many were written to the late Cardinal *Mazarin*; and they are ſo full of groſs Flatteries, that they have wholly turned my Stomach from ſpeaking any more of State Affairs: So that in truth, in the preſent Humour into which the Reading of them has put me, I had much rather offend on the other Extream, by an unjuſt Silence, than by impertinent Praiſes of the *Engliſh* Government. I will therefore conclude

this

this whole Matter, as I began it, by reflecting on a Paſſage of his own, in the Story of *Ulefelt*; wherein he has given undeniable Teſtimony that he is wholly ignorant of the Rights of Princes, the true Policy, and the Law of Nations. He affirms, that Ulefelt *fled into* Sweden; *that he became therefore effectually a Traitor*; *that he was the Cauſe of the* Swedes *laſt Invaſion into* Denmark, *by adviſing* Carolus Guſtavus *to turn his Army from the* Poles *againſt* Copenhagen. Theſe are his own Words. And what more apparent Crime could be than this, which had like to have drawn after it the utter Ruin of that Kingdom? And yet immediately after he profeſſes, *That he makes no doubt but the Illuſtrious Hero's*, Ulefelt *and his Wife, will live to ſee their great Merits acknowledged, and to enjoy in Peace the Applauſes that are due to them for their Fidelity to their King, and their Zeal for the Fundamental Laws of their Country.*

But this, Sir, I ſuppoſe, is one of thoſe which *Pref.* he himſelf calls the Beſueues of his Stile: Which though (as he ſays) *Monſieur de Vaubrun uſes to forgive*, yet the King of *France* did not think fit to paſs by.

This is the Idea that he has drawn of the Manners, the Religion, and the Government of the *Engliſh*; but theſe are not the Subjects which he principally regards: Such Matters as theſe, he confeſſes, that *he only uſes to touch on as they come in his Way.* *Pref.* I will now therefore, Sir, conſider his *Commerce with the chief Heads of* Parnaſſus, *and his Intrigues of the* Muſes; that is, (to ſpeak plain Senſe, without the help of *Phœbus*) I will examine ſome Particulars in the Account that he gives of the State of Knowledge amongſt us. This is the Argument in which he *E. Ded.*

Triumphs:

E. Ded. Triumphs : This is a Business in *whose Promotion he has spent the whole Course of his Life.* And that he may appear not to have bestow'd all his Labour in vain, I will allow that he ought to be numbred amongst the Men of Learning ; provided that he be content with that Definition which he himself has laid down of Learned Men

P. 39. in general : For he says, That *it is the good Custom of such Men to render themselves ridiculous by their Malignity, and their* Billingsgate *Language.* In conformity to this Description, besides what is already past, let us now behold what he reports of Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Willis*, Mr. *Hobbs*, the *Royal Society*, the *English Stage*, their *Eloquence*, their *Language*, and their *Authors.*

Dr. *Wallis he condemns for all his ill Usage of Mr.* Hobbs *in the Mathematical Controversies that have pass'd between them.* I will not endeavour to make any Defence for this Knowing and Acute Professor, as he grants him to be ; but yet let me say, that if *Monsieur de Sorbiere* himself being the Judge, so much Modesty of Language ought to be preserv'd, even in the Contentions of Wit and Argument, when Passion is apt to overbear the most temperate Minds, then certainly he himself ought to have been careful of keeping to the same Rule, in an Historical Relation, wherein he had no Adversary to put him into a Heat, and nothing but his own Natural Peevishness to exasperate his Anger. Dr. *Wallis*

P. 39. entertained him at his House, *made him partake of his Experiment on a Dumb Man, and behold the Model of a Flat Floor, which* (he says) *did raise Admiration in Mr.* Hobbs *himself.* And for all this, he might have been passed by in silence ; but he had a good Subject to be merry with, for want of

of *Poliſh* Muſick, and he muſt needs give the Receipt of making an Univerſity Cap. *Take a Portefueille, cover it with Black Cloth, fix a Tuff of Silk upon it, and ſew it with a Calot, and you have a perfect Four-corner'd Scholaſtical Bonnet.* Do you not now wonder, Sir, why he did not call himſelf Taylor, as well as Trumpeter, to the Commonwealth of Learning? What kind of Breeding is this? How can he after this object to Dr. *Wallis* that *he has little in him of the Gallant Man?* Whoſe Behaviour has the *ſtrongeſt Scent*, and *wants moſt to be purified by the Air of the Court?* The Geometrician receives him kindly at his Table, the Hiſtoriographer laughs at the Habit of his Hoſt. While he allows him extraordinary Abilities that are proper to himſelf, he abuſes him for that which is common with him to the *Sorboniſts* in *France*, and almoſt all the Univerſities and Clergymen in *Chriſtendom.* P. 41. P. 41. P. 41.

He declares that *he profited very little by Dr. Willis's Company, becauſe he could not underſtand his Latin:* And upon this he objects, *that all the Engliſh pronounce that Language with ſuch an odd Tone, as renders it almoſt as difficult to Strangers as our own Tongue.* I might here, Sir, alledge in defence of our Pronunciation, that we do as all our Neighbours beſides: We ſpeak the Ancient *Latin* after the ſame Way that we pronounce our Mother Tongue: So the *Germans* do, ſo the *Italians*, ſo the *French.* But the obſcurity of our Speech being not only his Complaint, but of many other Foreigners, I will not ſtand long in its Juſtification. There are ſo many peculiar Slanders of greater Concernment, which he alone has fixed upon us, that I will not regard this ſmall Objection, wherein there may be others that agree P. 38. P. 38.

with

with him. But however, Sir, from hence I may obſerve, that it was therefore impoſſible for him to take a right Meaſure of the *Engliſh* Manners and Diſpoſition, ſeeing he was incapable of holding any Sort of Correſpondence with us. He was not in a Condition of being inform'd by our Gentry, our Farmers, or our Tradeſmen, becauſe he underſtood no *Engliſh*: Nor by our Scholars, our Phyſicians, our Divines, our Mathematicians, becauſe he profeſſes *that our* Latin *was unintelligible to him.*

But to return, Sir, to Dr. *Willis*: I am able to give another Reaſon *Monſieur de Sorbiere* did profit ſo little by his Converſation; the Subſtance of it was reported to me from Dr. *Willis*'s own Mouth. And I doubt not but the remarkable Sincerity and Integrity which that Excellent Man preſerves in all his Writings, would make this Character of the other's Vanity to be believed, though we had not ſo many other Proofs of it. When *Monſieur de Sorbiere* came firſt to viſit him, the Doctor eſteem'd him to be a Man of ſome real and ſolid Knowledge; the Great Name of *Des Cartes*, and *Marſennus*, which he hath frequently in his Mouth, might have perſwaded him as much: He began to treat him accordingly, he enter'd into Diſcourſe with him about ſome Parts of Chymiſtry and Phyſick, in which he deſired his Opinion. The Profeſſor deliver'd it frankly and plainly, as it became a Philoſopher, without Deceit or Ornament: But expecting that he would have continued the Argument, with ſome Material Objection, he ſoon found that the Traveller underſtood nothing of the whole Matter; but anſwered him as little to the Purpoſe as if he had only ſaid *Pax Bello potior.* He try'd him in other Subjects.

But

But nothing could he get from him, except only some few Philosophical Terms, and Ends of Poetry, as, *In puris naturalibus*, P. 86. *Ex æquo & bono*; *contundantur grosso modo. Homo est animal credulum & mendax*; P. 78. and *Os homini.* Upon this he gave him over, as he would have done a young Traveller of Twenty Years Old, and left him *to reckon the Colledge Quadrangle, to tell the Pillars in St.* John's *Cloysters, to commend their Grove, to measure King* Harry's *Sword, to describe* P. 42. P. 43. *Saint* Catherine's *College (if there be any such there,) to examine why one of the Colleges took its Name from a Brazen Nose, to number the Books in the* Bodleian *Library, to consider why it was Built in the Form of an* H, *and to count how many Folio's and how many Quarto's are above and below on every Shelf.* These, Sir, he perceived were fitter Subjects for *Monsieur de Sorbiere* to handle. And he confirmed this his Opinion of him to be true. For his long Tale of his Journey to *Oxford* is made up of Childish Contemplations: While he was speaking of that Place, which for the Beauty and Convenience of its Buildings, for the Vastness of its Revenue, and above all, for the Sobriety, the Virtue, and the Piety of its Discipline, is to be preferr'd before all others that have been ever Dedicated to the Liberal Studies in the past or present Times.

But here, Sir, I confess I have been a little too rigid towards him. It was ill done of me to expect that he should on the sudden turn so unlike himself, as to give a good Account of our University alone. I will not therefore bestir my self against him for having omitted the most Memorable Things in *Oxford*; my Quarrel to him now is on another Score. He has here committed a gross Oversight in his own Way: For

in this exact Enumeration of all our Fine Rarities, he has wholly pass'd by one Famous Curiosity, which was of all others the most proper for such an Historiographer, or at least for such a Trumpeter, to mention, and that is *Queen-College Horn.*

From his new Acquaintance, I proceed to his Rudeness towards the only Man in *England*, to whom *he professes himself to have been long familiar.* P. 26. *Mr.* Hobbs *was the chief Man for whose Sake he came over, and he speaks very many* P. 27. *great Things in his Commendation: He praises his* P. Ib. *good Humour, his excellent Wit, the vigour of his Old Age, and his long and diligent Search into Nature.* After this, Sir, you will perhaps think that this Philosopher is safe from his Invectives, but will find it otherwise; he commends him indeed for that, on which Mr. *Hobbs* lays not so much stress, for his good Breeding, but he wounds him in the most dangerous Place, his Philosophy, and his Understanding. He very P. 40. kindly reports of him, that *he is too dogmatical* P. Ib. *in his Opinions: That he writ against the Church of* Rome, *because he never had a right Idea of it in his Thoughts, and because he had only read the Controversies on the Protestant Side.* How d'ye think, Sir, this will sound to Mr. *Hobbs*, who professes to have reduced all the Politicks to Demonstrations, when his Translator shall tell him, that he concluded against a Church, and a Religion, before he had heard one Word that could be said in their Defence? The Title of Dogmatical which he gives him being objected by a declar'd Sceptick, was the worst Fault that could be charg'd on a Philosopher; and indeed From P. 78, to 82. it is the same that *he bestows on* Borri, *while he strives in a long Story to render him to appear*

nothing

nothing but a fooliſh Charletan. But let him not fear; I have no mind to aggravate this Injury to Mr. *Hobbs*. It is the particular Manner of his passing this Judgment on him, of which I will take notice. He tells the World *that Mr.* Hobbs *was cenſur'd for Dogmatical, between his Majeſty and himſelf, in his private Diſcourſe with him.* And is not *Monſieur de Sorbiere* a very fit Man to upbraid to Dr. *Wallis* his want of good Manners, when he himſelf is at once rude to his Ancient Friend, and inſolent to the King himſelf, in betraying what he was pleas'd to whiſper to him in his Cabinet? P. 40.

But however, to comfort Mr. *Hobbs* for this affront, I dare aſſure him, that as for *Monſieur de Sorbiere*'s Part he underſtands not his Philoſophy. Of this I will give an unanſwerable Teſtimony, and that is *the Reſemblance that he makes of him to the Lord* Verulam, between whom there is no more likeneſs than there was between St. *George* and the Waggoner. He ſays that Mr. *Hobbs was once his* Amanuenſis; *that from thence he has retain'd very much of him: That he has Studied his manner of turning Things: That he juſt expreſſes himſelf in that Way of Allegory, wherein the other excell'd: And that he is in Truth a very Remain of my Lord Bacon.* This, Sir, is his Opinion: But how far from being true let any Man judge that has but taſted of their Writings. I ſcarce know Two Men in the World that have more different Colours of Speech than theſe Two Great Wits: The Lord *Bacon* ſhort, alluſive, and abounding with Metaphors, Mr. *Hobbs* round, cloſe, ſparing of Similitudes, but ever extraordinary decent in them. The one's Way of Reaſoning proceeds on Particulars, and pleaſant Images, only ſug- P. 40. P. 40.

gesting new Ways of experimenting, without any Pretence to the Mathematicks. The other's bold, resolv'd, settled upon general Conclusions, and in them, if we will believe his Friend, *Dogmatical.*

But it is the Royal Society to which he is
P. 35. most favourable; and that he may shew himself a great Benefactor to their Design, *he has bestowed* Gresham *College on them.* Whereas you know, Sir, they only hold their present Meetings there by the Permission of the Professors of the Foundation of Sir *Thomas Gresham*, to whom that House does belong. We are beholden to him for this Noble Bounty. But perhaps the Citizens of *London*, who are the Overseers of Sir *Thomas Gresham*'s Will, may take it ill at his Hands, especially having such just Ground to quarrel with him already: For he said before, *that they are almost all Presbyterians or Phanaticks.*

He comes to describe the Weekly Assemblies of the *Royal Society*; and he does it in Words
P. 36. becoming a Meeting of Natural Philosophers. *The Usher carries a great Silver Mace before the President, which is laid on the Cushion where he sits: They have a large Hall, and a handsome Anti-chamber; the Place where they assemble is Wainscotted: There is a long Table before the Chimney, Seven or Eight Grey Chairs about it; some Benches behind that are bare; the hindermost higher than the first: The President sits in a Chair with Arms, his Back to the Chimney, holding a Wooden Hammer in his Hand, wherewith he sometimes knocks the Table to make Silence.* Can you, Sir, indure to read all this Stuff with any Patience? I suffered his Tittle-tattle on *Rochester Bridge*, on the *Eternal Greenness* of the Fields of *Kent*, on the Walls of *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*,

Fields, on the *Guild-Hall*, on the Ranks of Trees in *Moorfields*, and many more ſuch pretty Philoſophical Diſcourſes: But is not this a ſhameful Sign of his Weakneſs, that he has inſiſted ſo long on ſuch mean Circumſtances, while he was deſcribing a Subject that might have yielded him ſo much Noble Matter for his Pen? And when the *Royal Society* itſelf is ſo careful that ſuch Ceremonies ſhould be juſt no more than what are neceſſary to avoid Confuſion? What other Language ſhould he have us'd than this, if he had been to inform the World of his own School at *Orange*? Juſt ſo he ſhould have proceeded. He ſhould firſt have declar'd whether the Room was Hung or Wainſcotted: Next, whether the Maſter ſate with his Back towards the Window, or the Chimney: Then how many Seats there were for the Boys to ſit on: At laſt, he ſhould have drawn himſelf in a Majeſtick Chair, his Ferula in his Hand, and the poor Scholars trembling for fear at every Rap on the Table.

But all this is ſtill pardonable: He has been utterly miſtaken in the Report of their main Deſign. There are Two Things that they have moſt induſtriouſly avoided, which he attributes to them: The one is, *a dividing into Parties and Sects*, and the other, *a reliance on Books for their Intelligence of Nature.* He firſt ſays, that *they are not all guided by the Authority of* Gaſſendus *or* Des Cartes; *but that the Mathematicians are for* Des Cartes, *and the Men of General Learning for* Gaſſendus, whereas neither of theſe Two Men bear any Sway amongſt them: They are never nam'd there as Dictators over Mens Reaſons; nor is there any extraordinary Reference to their Judgments. He alſo aſſerts, that P. 38.

P. 36. *the* Royal Society *has appointed Lodgings, and eſtabliſhed Four Thouſand Livres a Year, on Two Profeſſors, who ſhall read to them out of Authors, and that they have begun a Library for that Purpoſe*; whereas they have as yet no Library, but only a Repoſitory for their Inſtruments and Rarities; they never intend a Profeſſorian Philoſophy, but declare againſt it; with Books they meddle not farther than to ſee what Experiments have been try'd before; their Revenue they deſign for Operators, and not Lecturers.

I now paſs over to his chief Delight, the *Belles Lettres* of the *Engliſh*. He grants *our Stage* P. 69. *to be handſome, the Muſick tolerable*, better I ſuppoſe than that of the *Polack Gentleman*. But yet he ſays, that *our Poets laugh at the Rules of Time and Place: That all our Plays contain the Acti-* P. 70. *ons of Five and Twenty Years: That we Marry a Prince in the Firſt Act, and bring in his Son fighting in the Second, and his Grandchild in the Third.* P. 69. But here, Sir, he has committed a greater Diſorder of Time than that whereof he accuſes our Stage: For he has confounded the Reign of King *Charles* the Second with that of Q. *Elizabeth*. 'Tis true, about an Hundred Years ago the *Engliſh* Poets were not very exact in ſuch Decencies; but no more then were the Dramatiſts of any other Countries. The *Engliſh* themſelves did laugh away ſuch Abſurdities as ſoon as any; and for theſe laſt Fifty Years our Stage has been as regular in thoſe Circumſtances as the beſt in *Europe*. Seeing he thinks fit to upbraid our preſent Poets with the Errors of which their Predeceſſors were guilty ſo long ſince, I might as juſtly impute the vile Abſurdities that are to be found in *Amadis de Gaul* to *Monſieur de Cornielle, de Scudery, de Chapelaine,*

de

de Voiture, and the reſt of the Famous Modern *French* Wits.

He next blames the *Meanneſs of Humours which we repreſent.* And here, becauſe he has thruſt this Occaſion upon me, I will venture to make a ſhort Compariſon between the *French* Dramatical Poetry and ours. I doubt not, Sir, but I may do this with the leave of that witty Nation: For as long as I do not preſume to ſlander their Manners, (from which you ſee I have carefully forborn,) I hope they will allow me to examine that which is but Matter of Wit and Delight: I will not enter into open defiance of them on *Monſieur de Sorbiere*'s Account, but I intreat them to permit me only to try a Civil Turnament with them in his War of Letters. I will therefore make no Scruple to maintain that the *Engliſh* Plays ought to be preferr'd before the *French*. And to prove this I will not inſiſt on an Argument which is plain to any Obſerver, that the greateſt Part of their moſt Excellent Pieces has been taken from the *Spaniard*; whereas the *Engliſh* have for the moſt part trodden in New Ways of Invention. From hence I will not draw much Advantage, tho' it may ſerve to balance that which he afterwards ſays of our Books, that *they are generally ſtoln out of other Authors*; but I will fetch the Grounds of my Perſwaſion from the very Nature and Uſe of the Stage itſelf. It is beyond all Diſpute, that the true Intention of ſuch Repreſentations is to give to mankind a Picture of themſelves, and thereby to make Virtue belov'd, Vice abhorr'd, and the little Irregularities of Mens Tempers, called Humours, expos'd to laughter. The Two Firſt of theſe are the proper Subjects of Tragedy, and Trage-Comedy. And in theſe I will firſt try to ſhew why our Way ought to be preferr'd be-

P. 69.

P. 76.

fore theirs. The *French* for the most part take only One or Two Great Men, and chiefly insist on some one Remarkable Accident of their Story; to this End they admit no more Persons than will serve to adorn that: And they manage all in Rhime, with long Speeches, almost in the Way of Dialogues, in making high Idea's of Honour, and in speaking Noble things. The *English* on the other side make their chief Plot to consist of a greater variety of Actions, and besides the main Design, add many other little Contrivances. By this Means their Scenes are shorter, their Stage fuller, many more Persons of different Humours are introduc'd. And in carrying on of this they generally do only confine themselves to Blank Verse. This is the Difference, and hence the *English* have these Advantages. By the Liberty of Prose they render their Speech and Pronunciation more Natural, and are never put to make a Contention between the Rhime and the Sence. By their Underplots they often change the Minds of their Spectators: Which is a mighty Benefit, seeing one of the greatest Arts of Wit and Perswasion is the right ordering of Digressions. By their full Stage they prevent Mens being continually tir'd with the same Objects: And so they make the Doctrine of the Scene to be more lively and diverting than the Precepts of Philosophers, or the grave Delight of Heroick Poetry; which the *French* Tragedies do resemble. Nor is it sufficient to object against this, that it is undecent to thrust in Men of mean Condition amongst the Actions of Princes. For why should that misbecome the Stage, which is always found to be acted on the true Theatre of the World? There being no Court which only consists of Kings, and Queens, and Counsellors of State. Upon

these

these Accounts, Sir, in my weak Judgment, the *French Dramma* ought to give place to the *English* in the Tragical and Lofty Part of it. And now having obtained this, I suppose they will of their own Accord resign the other Excellence, and confess that we have far exceeded them in the Representation of the different Humours. The Truth is, the *French* have always seemed almost asham'd of the true Comedy; making it not much more than the Subject of their *Farces*: Whereas the *English* Stage has so much abounded with it, that perhaps there is scarce any Sort of Extravagance of which the Minds of Men are capable but they have in some Measure express'd. It is in Comedies, and not in Solemn Histories, that the *English* use to relate the Speeches of Waggoners, of Fencers, and of Common Soldiers. And this I dare assure *Monsieur de Sorbiere*, that if he had understood our Language, he might have seen himself in all Shapes, as a vain Traveller, an empty Politician, an insolent Pedant, and an idle Pretender to Learning. But though he was not in a Condition of taking Advice from our Stage, for the correcting of his own Vices, yet methinks he might thereby have rectified his Judgment about ours: He might well have concluded, that the *English* Temper *is not so universally heavy and dumpish*, when he beheld their Theatres to be the gayest and merriest in *Europe*.

Concerning the *English* Eloquence, he bravely declares, that *all their Sermons in the Pulpit, and Pleadings at the Bar, consist of nothing but mean Pedantry*. The Censure is Bold, especially from a Man that is so far from Understanding our Language, that he scarce knew *Whether we move our Lips or no when we speak*, But to shew him, P. 70. P. 70.

him that we can better judge of *Monsieur de Sorbiere*'s Eloquence, I must tell him, that the *Muses* and *Parnassus* are almost whipt out of our very Schools: That there are many Hundreds of Lawyers and Preachers in *England*, who have long known how to contemn such Delicacies of his Stile. I will only give one Instance for all. I believe he cou'd scarce have Brib'd any Scivener's Clerk to describe *Hatfield* as he has done,
P. 65. and so to conclude, *That the Fishes in the Ponds did often leap out of the Water into the Air to behold, and to delight themselves with the Beauties of that Place.*

I will not attempt to defend the Ornaments or the Copiousness of our Language against one that is utterly ignorant of it. But to shew how plentiful it is, I will only repeat an Observation which the Earl of *Clarendon* has made, that there is scarce any Language in the World which can properly signifie one *English* Expression, and that is *Good Nature*; though *Monsieur de Sorbiere* will not allow the Noble Author of this Note to have any Skill in Grammar Learning, yet he must pardon me if I still believe the Observation to be true: At least, I assure you, Sir, that after all my Search I cannot find any one Word in his Book which might incline me to think otherwise.

But I will be content to lay the whole Authority of his Judgment in Matters of Wit and Elegance on what he says concerning the *English*
P. 70. Books. He affirms, *That they are only impudent Thefts out of others, without citing their Authors; and that they contain nothing but ill Rapsodies of Matter, worse put together.* And here, Sir, I will for once do him a Courtesie. I will suppose him not to have taken this one Character

of

of us from the Soldier, the *Zealander*, the *Puritans*, or the Rabble of the Streets: I will grant he might have taken an ill Conceit of our Writings before he came over, from the usual Judgment which the Southern Wits of this World are wont to pass on the Wit of all Northern Countries. 'Tis true indeed, I think the *French* and the *Italians* would scarce be so unneighbourly as to assert, that *all our Authors are Thievish Pedants*; that is *Monsieur de Sorbiere*'s own Addition; but yet they generally agree, that there is scarce any Thing of late Written that is worth looking upon, but in their own Languages. The *Italians* did at first endeavour to have it thought that all Matters of Elegance had never yet passed over the *Alps*: But being soon overwhelmed by Number, they were content to admit the *French* and the *Spaniards* into some Share of the Honour. But they all Three still maintain this United Opinion, that all Wit is to be sought for nowhere but amongst themselves: It is their Established Rule, that Good Sence has always kept near the warm Sun, and scarce ever yet dared to come farther than the Forty-ninth Degree Northward. This, Sir, is a pretty Imagination of theirs, to think they have confin'd all Art to a Geographical Circle; and to fancy that it is there so charm'd, as not to be able to go out of the Bounds which they have set it. It were certainly an easie and apleasant Work to confute this Arrogant Conception by particular Examples: It might quickly be shewn, that *England*, *Germany*, nay, even *Denmark* and *Scotland*, have produced very many Men, who may justly come into Competition with the best of these Southern Wits, in the Advancement of the true Arts of Life, in all the Works of Solid Reason, nay, even in the Lighter

Studies

Studies of Ornament and Humanity. And, to speak particularly of *England*, there might be a whole Volume composed in comparing the Chastity, the Newness, the Vigour of many of our *English* Fancies, with the corrupt and the swelling Metaphors wherewith some of our Neighbours, who most admire themselves, do still adorn their Books. But this, Sir, will require a larger Discourse than I intend to bestow on Monsieur *de Sorbiere*. I am able to dispatch him in fewer Words. For I wonder how, of all Men living, it could enter into his Thoughts *to condemn in gross the* English *Writings*, when the best Course that he has taken to make himself consider'd as a Writer was the Translation of an *English* Author.

But I beg your Leave, Sir, that I may briefly add, that in the first Restoration of Learning the *English* began to write well as soon as any, the *Italians* only excepted; and that if we may guess by what we see of the *Italians* at this Day, the *English* have continued to write well longer than they. Sir *Thomas Moor* was Contemporary with *Erasmus*; and though *he was a Man of the Law too*, yet he yielded not much to that Incomparable Man in the Plenty of his Invention, or the Masculine Easiness of the Stile. And ever since that Time down to this, (if we may take a Measure of the *English* by what *Tully* says of the *Romans* in their most flourishing Condition, *That they had scarce above One Excellent Poet or Orator in an Age*,) we may make a very Advantageous Computation for the Honour of our Country. We have at this Present as many Masters of true and real Wit as ever *Greece* produc'd in One Age, whose Names, though I conceal, yet Posterity shall declare. We have had many Admirable

mirable Genius's in Poetry, who have handled moſt of the Ancient and Modern Subjects of Fancy with wonderful Succeſs. We can name many Faithful and Diligent Hiſtorians, ſuch as never ſtrove to *frame a Romance out of every Story that they managed.* And the Number of theſe will be ſhortly encreaſed by the Labours of a Great Man, from whom we hope to receive the Hiſtory of our Wars; a Subject fit for the Pen of a Privy-Counſellor to Kings, who had himſelf a great Share in the Conduct of thoſe Affairs which he is to relate. Our Mathematicians we may almoſt equal to thoſe of all *Europe* beſides. Our Phyſicians have long been applauded by all the Learned World; and certainly their Renown'd College at *London* deſerv'd to have been mention'd, as well as the Fencers at the *Red Bull.* Our Famous Divines have been innumerable, as the *Dutch* Men may witneſs, who, in ſome of their Theological Treatiſes, have been as Bold with the *Engliſh* Sermons, as with our Fiſhing; and their Robberies have been ſo manifeſt, that our Church ought to have Reprizals againſt them, as well as our Merchants. We have had many Philoſophers of a ſtrong, vigorous and forcible Judgment, of happy and laborious Hands, of a ſincere, a modeſt, a ſolid and unaffected Expreſſion; ſuch who have not thought it enough to ſet up for Philoſophers, only to have got a large Stock of Fine Words, and to have inſinuated into the Acquaintance of ſome of the Great Philoſophers of the Age. And above all, we have one ſmall Book which we dare oppoſe to all the Treaſures of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* Languages; it is that which was written by our late King and Martyr; whoſe Majeſtical Stile and Divine Conceptions have not only mov'd all his Readers P. 77.

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to admire his Eloquence, but inclin'd some of the worst of his Enemies to relent their Cruelty towards him.

After all these Signs of his Excellent Judgment and Generous Mind, there still, Sir, remains that which he has given of his *good Palate*; *For he has boldly determin'd the Controversie that had long depended in all the Kitchens of* England *and* France, *which is the best way of eating Chines of Beef and Mutton, or Bisques and Pottages.* This, I confess, was a Matter fit to be decided by that *Historian, Critick, Mathematician, Orator* and *Physician*, who had *travell'd throughout the World to acquaint himself with all the Learned Men of all Countries, and to push on all Sciences to Perfection.* He has here indeed behaved himself like the true, natural and experimental Philosopher, whose Business it is to take in all manner of Observations that can be got from the Senses. You see, Sir, how fairly I treat him; I allow the very Criticisms of his Appetite to be a Part of his Philosophy; and I look upon his Affection to Fricacies before whole Joints, to proceed from his Love to the Doctrines of Atoms before that of the Two great standing Dishes of Matter and Form. But yet I must tell him, that perhaps his rigid Condemning of the *English* Cookery did not so well suit with his beloved Title of *Sceptick.* According to the Laws of that Profession, he should first have long debated whether there be any Taste, or no; whether the Steam of a Pot be only a Fancy, or a real Thing; whether the Kitchen Fire has indeed the good Qualities of Roasting and Boiling, or whether it be only an Appearance. This had been a Dispute more becoming a Sceptick, than thus to conclude Dogmatically on

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all the Intrigues of Hautgouſts, and to raiſe an endleſs ſpeculative Quarrel between thoſe that had been hitherto peaceful and practical Sects, the *Haſhes* and the *Surloiners*.

You may now, Sir, perhaps expect that I ſhou'd make ſome Compariſon between the *French* Diet and the *Engliſh*. It were, I confeſs, a pleaſant and a weighty Argument; but I am reſolv'd to paſs it over: Not that I think we have the worſt of the Cauſe, but for a particular Reaſon of my own. It is that Monſieur *de Sorbiere* may ſtill remain in his Error; for as long as he is ignorant that there is any good Houſekeeping in *England* we are like to have no more of his Company. Yet I cannot but ſay to the Advantage of Boil'd Beef and Roſt, that the *Engliſh* have the ſame Sincerity in their Diet which they have in their Manners; and as they have leſs Mixture in their Diſhes, ſo they have leſs Sophiſticate Compoſitions in their Hearts, than the People of ſome other Nations.

But now, Sir, I confeſs he has quite tired my Hand; and I am almoſt as much aſham'd to behold the Heaps of his Vanities ariſe to ſuch a Bulk, as he ought to be that he has given me this Occaſion to collect them: I will therefore, in a few Words, come to an Iſſue with him: I will ſatisfie him in the Requeſt which he makes to his Reader. I am content *to conclude from theſe his Three Months Travels what kind of Obſervations he has made in the World theſe Thirty Years.* This, Sir, is his own Deſire, and I obey him; but then I know not how he will be able to avoid the Imputation of thoſe Crimes with which he has ſo often ſlander'd the *Engliſh*, of being a Do-little, an Idle, a Lazy and Uſeleſs Perſon. The Deſcription of his Voyage into *England* is

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not yet come to my Hands: But if it be of the same Thread with this, he had been much better employ'd if he had only imitated the *Roman* Emperor's Journey thither, and *gone to gather Cockle-shells on that Shore.* If he has any *Friends amongst all the Learned Men of* Europe, *that were once his Familiars*, they would do well to advise him what Weight his Mind will bear; he is himself in the Right when he acknowledges, that *these Matters of State, Characters of Nations, Descriptions of Governments, Churches and Courts, are far above the Weakness of his Spirit.* But yet the Man's Abilities are not wholly to be discouraged; he may still prove a tolerable good Flatterer of his Patrons: He may still bring in his *Votre Tres Humble* artificially enough in the End of an empty Letter of Compliments: He may serve to commend Philosophers when they are dead; or (to conclude with his own dear Epithet) he may make a sufficient Trumpeter in the Commonwealth of Learning. And in truth he has behaved himself in this Account of his Voyage like a Trumpeter; for Trumpeters, when they are sent into Foreign Armies or Countries, are always blinded, on purpose that they might not be able to give any certain Intelligence of the Places through which they pass'd.

E. Ded.

And now, Sir, having dismiss'd the Historiographer Royal, that I may speedily put an end to your Trouble, I will only in few Words apply my Speech to your self. You may perhaps remember that we have sometimes debated together what Place and Time of all the past or present we would have chosen to live in, if our Fates had been at our own Disposal; and in that Discourse, instead of *desiring to have been Born*

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in China, we both agreed, that *Rome*, in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, was to be preferr'd before all others. The Prerogatives of that Time were very many: That City was then become the eſtabliſh'd Seat of the Empire of the World: That Emperor had the good Fortune to ſucceed a long Civil War: The Minds of all Men were eaſily compoſed into Obedience by the Remembrance of their paſt Misfortunes: The Arts of Wit, Reaſon and Delight, were in their higheſt Perfection: The Court was the Place of Reſort for all the Lovers of Generous Knowledge: And ſuch was the Freedom of their Manners, that *Virgil*, *Horace* and *Varius*, were admitted into the Privacies and Friendſhip of *Agrippa*, *Mecænas* and *Auguſtus*. Beyond this we could fancy nothing pleaſanter to a Philoſophical Mind; which was reſolved to live according to the Convenience aud Rules of Nature; ſeeing it might have enjoy'd at once all the Varieties of an Active Life, and all the Quiet and Peace of a Retir'd.

This, Sir, was then our Opinion: But it was before the King's Return. For ſince that Bleſſed Time the Condition of our own Country appears to me to be ſuch, that we need not ſearch into Ancient Hiſtory for a real Idea of Happineſs. 'Tis true that *England* is not the Seat of the Empire of the World; but it may be of that which confines the World it ſelf, the Ocean. To this Dominion our Nation is invited by the Situation of our Shores, the Inclination of our People, and the Genius of a Vigorous and Skilful Prince. The Time wherein we live is upon the Recovery of an Univerſal Peace; a Peace eſtabliſh'd on the Two ſureſt Foundations of Fear and Love: A Peace that was accompliſh'd without Proſcripti-

ons, and even without the Ruin of those that resisted it: A Peace that was produced by Peaceful Arts, though it was by the Conduct of an Army. The Footsteps of the late dreadful War are not only vanish'd from our Eyes, but now almost from our Thoughts. If any of it still remains, it is only the good Effect which it had on our Country, the Industry that was excited by it, and the Wisdom which such woful Experience has taught us. The Government which we enjoy is justly composed of a sufficient Liberty and Restraint. And though it may be suspected in a querulous and discontented Age, a little to incline the People to Disobedience, yet in a calm and a secure Time (such as this at present) it serves admirably well to breed a Generous, an Honourable and Invincible Spirit. The Temper of the *English* is Free, Modest, Sincere, Kind, hard to be Provok'd. If they are not so Talkative as others, yet they are more careful of what they Speak. If they are thought by some of their Neighbours to be a little defective in the Gentleness and the Pliableness of their Humour, yet that Want is abundantly supplied by their firm and their masculine Vertues: And perhaps the same Observation may be found true in Men which is in Metals, and that the Noblest Substance are hardest to be polish'd. The Arts that now prevail amongst us are not only all the useful Sciences of Antiquity, but most especially all the late Discoveries of this Age in the real Knowledge of Mankind and Nature. For the Improvement of this kind of Light the *English* Disposition is of all others the fittest. And an Universal Zeal towards the Advancement of such Designs has not only overspread our Court and Universities, but the Shops of our Mechanicks,

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the Fields of our Gentlemen, the Cottages of our Farmers, and the Ships of our Merchants. To all this, Sir, may be added the Profeſſion of ſuch a Religion, and the Diſcipline of ſuch a Church, which an impartial Philoſopher would chuſe; which by falling with the Throne, and by riſing with it again, has given evident Sign how conſiſtent it is with the Laws of Humane Society, and how nearly its Intereſt is united with the Proſperity of our Country.

'Tis true indeed, that after all theſe Advantages there may be ſome Room ſtill left for future Amendments in the Union of our Minds, the Smoothneſs of our Manners, and the Beauty of our Buildings. This laſt was the peculiar Honour of *Auguſtus*, who is ſaid to *have found* Rome *of Brick, and to have left it in Marble.* In this kind too we every Day behold a wonderful Progreſs, by the powerful Influence of a Royal Example: And the Fiſhes in the *Thames* have as much Reaſon as thoſe at *Hatfield* to leap out of the Water, to behold the New Buildings of *London* and *Weſtminſter:* So that I may in general affirm, that never any Nation in the World has proceeded by ſwifter Degrees to excel in Convenience and Magnificence. But whatever is to be added in this, or any other ſuch Way, we can never receive it from the petulant Corrections of ſuch vain Obſervers as this, whom I have here conſider'd. No, Sir, we are to expect it from the many Noble and Practical *Engliſh* Wits of this Age; and chiefly from your ſelf. For you muſt give me Leave, Sir, to preſage, that to you your Country is to owe very much of its Ornament, as well as Experimental Knowledge, its Reputation, and indeed all the Living and Beneficial Arts, the Enlargement of

their Bounds. This, Sir, I know will offend your Modesty; but he is an ill *Englishman*, who would not have said as much as this when your Name was mention'd; which if I had omitted I had been almost as injurious to our Nation as this very Traveller whom I censure; for as he was unjust in aggravating the Faults, so I my self had been in concealing one of the principal Glories of *England*.

I beg of you now, Sir, only to permit me to conclude with some Apology for my self. You may, perhaps, wonder all this while to see me undertake such an Argument, and to prosecute it in a manner which may appear a little too sharp for your Eye, or my Pen. You know, Sir, that I am an Enemy to all manner of Controversies; that I hate Contention, though in Matters of the greatest Concernment; and that I had much rather defend than accuse. To this I can therefore only reply for my Excuse, That this Letter may not so properly be call'd an *Accusation*, as a *Defence*: For though I have confuted the Saucineſs of one particular Man, yet I have pleaded for a Great, a Valiant, and a Vertuous People.

SIR, I am

Your most Humble and

Affectionate Servant,

THO. SPRAT.

SORBIERE's
LETTER
TO
Monſ. *de Courcelles*
AT
AMSTERDAM,
CONCERNING
The Deſigns of the *Engliſh* in the War againſt the *Dutch*, 1652.

COSIN,

I Should be very glad to ſee the Sentiments of Monſ. *Blondel*, about the State of Religion, and the Civil Government, upon the Account of the War with the *Engliſh*, in the Book he has publiſhed, which you have promiſed to ſend me; ſeeing we have made many

Reflections upon that Important Subject in these Parts, of whose Weight and Consequence we can make a much better Judgment, in comparing them with those of more intelligent Persons in Things of this Kind, and such as are upon the Spot, where this War was kindled. In the mean time I cannot forbear communicating to you the Thoughts we have entertained upon this singular Occasion.

It's in a manner visible to us, that during the Life of the Late King, even to the time that after his Death the Three Kingdoms were reduced into a Republican State, the main Design, at least of many People in *England*, was utterly to efface the Monarchy; those who were set at a Distance from the Administration of Publick Affairs being very eager to come at it, and the People easily induced to withdraw themselves from under the Subjection of the Grandees of the Kingdom; all which could not be effected without the Destruction of the Monarchy, by putting the King to Death, which was the Heart and Soul of the Nobility. Now seeing they had the Address to bring about this Fatal Design, which their Neighbours took no manner of Care to prevent; and that the Almighty was pleased to tolerate a small Number of Men to set up a New Government, and to fix it in Peace and Order, it seemed as if they had no farther Work to do, and that the Faction could have no farther Thoughts than peaceably to enjoy the Authority acquired by them: In Short, to make Descents on the Continent, and Conquests of their Neighbours Territories, looked by no Means a prudent Undertaking, in the Infancy of a popular Government;

vernment; and the General himself might rationally enough expect some Reverse of Fortune in it. For in Case he was personally engaged in a Foreign War, he would upon the least ill Success run a very great Risque of losing his Reputation in his own Country; and if he tarry'd at Home, he must in a manner be left Naked, by being obliged to send the best Part of his Army out of the Kingdom, to defend their Conquests, and to make new ones; and this was not to be done without much Toil, and continued Fatigues: It would have been difficult for him, after having made many Conquests, to secure them; and the People finding the Money of the Nation spent abroad, would at last look upon these Conquests a Burden upon them, and refuse to grant any farther Supplies. In the mean time, since it would be absolutely necessary to keep an armed Force on Foot, and to find Employment for Soldiers, and other idle Persons, as well to support the Design, as to maintain the present Establishment, and to cut off all Hopes of restoring Monarchical Government, was there a shorter and more seasonable Way to accomplish all this than by a Naval War? For by an Absolute Dominion of the Seas the Republick of *England* must acquire all the Trade of the World, and thereby all the Habitable Earth must be Subject and Tributary to it.

It's true, the Person who was at the Head of Affairs was not obliged to make this vast and prodigious Design known unto others, a greater than which perhaps was never entertained by any Ambitious Soul in the World: It was sufficient that he gave the People in general to understand, that his Intention was to

make Trade flouriſh, and to put a Check upon his Neighbours, who had Engroſſed all Commerce to themſelves, ſo far as to Uſurp the Fiſhery upon their own Coaſts; as if the *Engliſh* were a People that did not underſtand the Profits they might make of the Produce of the Sea, and how by their Induſtry to make Advantage of that which Nature ſo bountifully conferred upon them. So profitable a Propoſal was readily hearkened to, the Minds of the People being ſo much the more inclined to it, not only upon Account of the Difference there is between the Cuſtoms and Manners of the Two Nations, but becauſe the *Engliſh* had for a long time been jealous of the Proſperity of the *Dutch*, who advanc'd in Power by their Prudent Management, Parcimony and Sobriety, Virtues the *Engliſh* were not capable of. For an *Engliſh* Ship uſually is as expenſive as Two *Dutchmen*, ſo that the *Dutch* Merchants can ſell the ſame Goods much cheaper than the other; and this is the Reaſon why they had a greater Vent for their Commodities, and at laſt all the Trade: The *Engliſh* Republicans took Things exactly right, and that in order to the accompliſhing of a Deſign that would take up all their Life-time, (for ſuch Sort of Men ought never to conceive Mean ones, after the execution whereof they muſt be put to the Trouble of Projecting anew, or live lazily, and be expos'd to Conſpiracies againſt them,) they thought it would be their beſt Way to begin with the Ruin of the *United Provinces*, which lay next their Coaſts, and flouriſhed in Trade above any other Country in the World; and when once they had effected this, they were in Hopes,

Hopes they ſhould eaſily remove any Obſtacle in their Way to attain the Dominion of the Seas: Inſomuch that if the Fortune of War ſhould favour their firſt Enterprizes, I do not think they have any Deſign to make a Peace with a Nation they have a mind utterly to deſtroy, and to whom they will propoſe ſuch hard Terms, that upon the Refuſal of them you will at laſt find them prepared to make terrible Deſcents in divers Parts of *Zealand* and *North Holland*, to break the Banks, and the other Dikes, that keep the flat Country from being Drowned. There needs no more than this Sort of Blood-letting to make *Amſterdam*, and all the other Cities, Deſolate: For it would ſignifie little to them to Seize the *Brill*, or ſome other Place, ſeeing their Deſign is to deſtroy the Trade of *Holland*, and to Transfer it into their own Country; and it would be of little Importance to them that the King of *Spain* ſhould in the mean time recover the Seven Provinces; that the Merchants of *Amſterdam* ſhould remove to *Antwerp*, and the Manufacturers of *Leyden* and *Harlem* to *Ghent* and *Bruges*: For it would require many Years to ſettle Things there, and the *Engliſh* would have Opportunity enough to hinder them from having any neceſſary Materials, but ſuch as paſſed through their own Hands, and their Manufactures to be Tranſported any where but in *Engliſh* Bottoms: For it would be very eaſie for them to ſtop up the Mouths of the Ports, and to go up the *Schelde*, even in Sight of *Antwerp*, from whence nothing muſt come out but will be taken by their Ships. By this means, and the Notion I have of their Deſigns, no Nation in the World, in a few Years Time, would have

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any Seamen, Ships, or Skill in Maritime Affairs, beſides themſelves: For *Holland* being entirely ruin'd, the *Dutch* muſt ſerve on Board their Fleets, and all the Shipwrights, Sailmakers and Ropemakers, would be obliged to go and Earn their Living in the Sea-port Towns of *England*; and this they would be the more inclined to do, becauſe there is more Wages given there, and People live better. When this Noble and Rich Province, which within the Extent of leſs than Five and Twenty Leagues, contains Eighteen large Towns, and Four Hundred Villages, of which the *Hague* is the fineſt in the World, ſhall be reduced to this ſad Plight; it's then likely that the *Engliſh* will turn their Arms againſt *Denmark*, in order to Sieze the Paſſage of the *Sundt*, either by main Force, or rather ſome Treaty, by which they will be willing to give the King more than the Profit it brought him, but at the ſame time will oblige *Norway* to Sell their Wood to no other Nation but the *Engliſh:* The Cities of *Embden*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Lubec*, all the Coaſt of the *Baltick*, and the whole Kingdom of *Sweden*, durſt appear no longer at Sea, but under *Engliſh* Colours; and perhaps the Formidable Republick will be content, in Conſideration of her Commiſſions granted to them, to receive certain Duties from the Goods ſhe allows them in her Name to Tranſport, only along theſe Northern Parts. They will in time ſend a more powerful Fleet to block up the River of *Lisbon*, while another ſails to *Braſil*, *Guinea*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, with a Deſign to ſpare the *Portugueze* Merchants, and the *Eaſt-India* Companies, the Labour of Tranſporting the Sugars, Silks, Spices, and other Commodities they come thither

thither for, into *Europe:* And if *Spain* pretends to ſay any Thing againſt them, they will without any more ado Sieze the *Streights-Mouth*, and ſend an Hundred and Fifty Ships of War into the *Mediterranean*, out of which they can very eaſily drive the Naval Force of the other Potentates of *Europe*, were they all joined together againſt them.

The *Engliſh* having in this Manner uſurped the Dominion of the Seas, the Trade of all the *European* Nations, and part of the reſt of the World: All the Earth muſt Submit to them, Work, for no body but them, and they'll from Time to Time come into their Ports, and ſweep away all their Treaſure: Every Thing that is Rare, and all the Conveniences of Life, produced either by Art or Nature, will be reſerved for *England*, which will be the only Country that can purchaſe them, or poſſeſs them of their own. For as we ſee, that ſince the ſettling of Trade in *Holland* that Province is become the Store-houſe for Linen, Woollen, and all Sorts of Manufactures; tho' there is neither Flax, Wooll, nor in a manner any other Commodities which they Work up, grows there, but they muſt fetch them from other Countries; ſo every Thing that *England* wants at this time will abound there, and the Beſt Artificers will flock thither; inſomuch that if they would have any fine Linen, or good Cloath for Wear, in another Country, the Flax and Wooll was to be ſent to be Manufactured in *England:* Pray conſider then what vaſt Wealth this Country muſt acquire in leſs than Fifty Years? And how miſerable muſt the reſt of *Europe* be, ſince they can Tranſport nothing by Sea from one Nation to another but in *Engliſh* Ships? They will

will always have Money to receive in all the Ports they come at, and never leave any of their own there: What the *Engliſh* want they'll make Compenſation for, by Way of Exchange, or readily ſend over into *England*, upon the Score of the Manufactures there they have Occaſion for: As we have ſeen the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Company have Pearl, and Precious Stones, in Return for ſome Wares ſent into thoſe Countries, which they got Fitted up at *Amſterdam*, and then Sold them at a very dear Rate in thoſe Places from whence they were firſt brought, and where there is not that Perfection of Workmanſhip as there is with us. Hundreds of Ships richly Laden will daily put into the *Thames*, and other Ports of this fortunate Iſland; and the General can ſcarce ever loſe the Sight of his Forces, which, I may ſay, return every Evening to lye at Home; for they ſtay no longer in Foreign Parts than to refreſh themſelves, to vend their Goods, and to take in new Cargoes: They will be no Way ſollicitous of making Conqueſts by Land, that they may ſave the Charge of maintaining them, ſeeing they are ſure of reaping the Profit of them; neither will they plant any Colonies, and eaſe their Country, as populous as 'tis grown, of the vaſt Multitudes that are in it, becauſe the Produce of all *Europe* is Conſumed there, and their great Naval Trade renders their Stores Inexhauſtible: In the mean time all the Neighbouring Kingdoms will in a manner become like the Sea-coaſts of *America*, where our *Europeans* Trade: There will be only Tillage, and ſome Coarſe Manufactures for plain Ware, and to ſerve Peoples Neceſſities only in the Heart of the Country, and the Maritime Towns will be no other than the Granaries and Magazines of *England*.

Theſe

Theſe are my Sentiments about this War, which in the Opinion of ſome may ſeem Romantick, and of Kin to *Utopia*, or the Republick of *Plato*; eſpecially of thoſe who do not conſider that the Wars that have been waged for Twenty Years paſt, I know not under what Pretences or Deſigns, had nothing ſo Great and Sublime in them, as that which *Cromwel* propoſes: For in Reality there is nothing can come up to the Thoughts of ſubjecting all the Earth to his Country, and rendring it the moſt Haughty and Flouriſhing State in the World: It appears to me to be ſo vaſt and Magnificent a Thought, that there is nothing in all the Conqueſts of *Alexander*, and the Pomp of all the *Roman* Empire, that comes near this Maritime Dominion, which I have repreſented to you: And this ſeems to me to be ſo very feaſible, that if *Holland* be once ruined I am afraid it will be too late to prevent it: And therefore I would have all the Potentates of *Europe* take it to Heart in time; for if they do not quickly put an end to the War they are engaged in on the Continent, we ſhall run the Riſque in a few Ages of becoming perfect *Barbarians*. For the *Engliſh*, by the means of their Navigation, will Transfer all the Politeneſs of *Europe*, together with its Plenty, Power, and Conveniences of Life, into their own Country: But we ought to ſubmit to Divine Providence: We, I ſay, who can contribute no more than our Vows for the Tranquility of the *United Provinces*, and the Glory of his Highneſs. It may be they'll make ſome Reflections upon what I have ſaid at laſt; and that there will be Time enough ſtill left to prevent the Deſigns of this new Commonwealth: But perhaps the Arguments we have uſed upon this Occaſion may be Frivolous,

that

that our Fears are only Panick, and that there is nothing less thought of than what I have advanced: I heartily wish it, and that this Maritime Dominion may be only, and for ever, the Romantick Imagination of Bad Politicians, such as perhaps may be,

SIR,

Your Affectionate Cosin and Servant.

Orange, *July* 1. 1652.

FINIS.